Classical Tamil Summer Seminar

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EFEO Pondicherry

A GRAMMAR OF CLASSICAL TAMIL

4th preliminary version

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(updated in September 2012)

Preface

This printout is supposed to be a very preliminary first draft of a grammar of Classical Tamil which shall one day be the output of the joined efforts of many scholars working on the Pondicherry Caṅkam project. For the time being it is hardly more than a collection of morphological and syntactical phenomena richly illustrated from (mostly) early classical texts. It is meant to give students a basic inventory not so much of forms (which can be looked up in various printed grammar books), but of the actual usage to be found in the texts, as well as some rules which have been formulated so far (mostly rules of thumb and as yet far from the sophisticated state found and expected in the grammar books of more advanced philologies.)

Among its various drawbacks and shortcomings are the following:

1. The descriptive text is still in an embryonic state and as such often incomprehensible without the explanations of a teacher. (Why does this sound vaguely familiar?)
2. The cross-references to secondary literature are largely missing. This is in part due to the fact that, unfortunately, for most topics useful secondary literature is presently non-existent.
3. The more or less reliable core of data is restricted to the early anthologies of the Caṅkam corpus (KT, NA, AN, PN). Though there are occasional references to later texts and later developments, no ambition whatsoever has been put in sketching a historical development, let alone in giving a complete survey. This can be explained by the limited scope of research of the present author. It can also be explained by the state of our editions and the level of research done in different texts and genres: all that can be said for the time being is at best impressionistic.

In short, in the field of Classical Tamil students need to be given one piece of serious advice: never trust any authority, printed or oral. Trust in your own eyes and makes use of your own brains. [And please note down what you see. Whoever works on a particular text should make lists of peculiarities and references.]

Eva Wilden, Pondicherry January 2005

Schedule

1st week	Bhakti (Tēvāram, Tiruvāymoḻi), Kuṟaḷ
1	non-marking of cases (oblique, zero, locatives, dative – word-order)
2	nominal sentences (finite verb – participial noun – pronominal noun)
3	attribution (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs)
4	clauses: absolutive/converb/*viṉaiyeccam*
5	clauses: infinitive
2nd week	Mutoḷḷāyiram, Epos (Cilapatikāram, Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi)
6	clauses: (perfective *peyareccam*)/*-um-peyareccam*/habitual future
7	verbal roots (for *peyareccam* and other forms), verbal nouns
8	string attribution (mixed nominal and verbal forms)
9	verbal sentences (tenses/aspects, moods)
10	coordination and questions (*-um, -ō, -kol, kollō*)
3rd week	Poetics and Commentaries (Nakkīraṉ's preamble, TP)
11	embedded clauses (*eṉ, āku, pōl*)
12	clauses: conditional (factual and hypothetical)
13	negation (*al/il*, zero infix, negative stem, double verb forms)
14	denominative (pronominal nouns as predicate nouns)
15	double verb forms, *muṟṟeccam* and auxiliaries
4th week	Caṅkam (Puṟanāṉūṟu, Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, Kuṟuntokai, Naṟṟiṇai)
16	particles and word-order (*-ē*)
17	modal particles (*maṉ/maṉṟa, āl, amma, tilla, teyya*)
18	circular construction (*pūṭṭu vil*)
19	formulae as syntactic matrices; stylistics: simile and inset; types of poems
20	metre: Āciriyappā and Veṇpā

Introduction

Classical Tamil (*intuitive consensus*)

Old Tamil: *0-1000 AD

Early Old Tamil	KT, NA, AN, PN, AiN, Pattup.?, Patiṟ.?	stable word-order, particles old pronouns,honorific, formulae
Middle Old Tamil	Par., Kal., Kīḻkkaṇakku, Cilap., Kuṟaḷ, Tēvaram, Antāti-s	old morphol., new style/content new pron. + plural, word-order and particle chaos, hybrid forms, rarely 'present', less formulae
Late Old Tamil	Muttol., Cintāmaṇi, Tiruvāymoḻi, Tirukkōvai [Kampaṉ, 12th c.]	standardisation of 'present', pl., pronouns; less pron. nouns few formulae, new vocabulary

Middle Tamil: 1000-1900 AD — new aux., compound sentences (Commentary prose)

Modern Tamil: 19th century

table of basic chronology of the Caṅkam corpus

Zeit	Texttraditionen					
	Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōḻa		Cēra	Pāṇṭiya		Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōḻa
	Akam	*Puṟam*	*Akam/Puṟam*	*Akam*	*gemischt*	*gemischt*
1.-3. Jh.	Kuṟuntokai Naṟṟiṇai Akanāṉūṟu	Puṟanāṉūṟu				
4. Jh.	↓	↓	Aiṅkuṟunūṟu Patiṟṟuppattu			Neṭunalvāṭai Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai
5. Jh.	↓ KT 1	↓				Malaipaṭukaṭām Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu Paṭṭiṉappālai Mullaippāṭṭu Maturaikkāñci
6. Jh.	↓	↓		Kalittokai	Paripāṭal	Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭa i
7. Jh.	kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu-s	→	→	→	?	
	Pāṇṭiya			Pāṇṭiya		Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōḻa
12. Jh.	„Eṭṭuttokai”					„Pattuppāṭṭu“

Morphological Changes from Early Old Tamil to Middle and Late Old Tamil

[Lehmann, forthcoming
Wilden, forthcoming]

personal pronouns: 1st singular nominative *yāṉ* > *nāṉ*
2nd singular oblique stem *niṉ* > *uṉ*

plural suffixes: -*kaḷ* (first for neuter, then added to old honorific -ar/-ār, then gradually taking over)
-*kāḷ* vocative
-*mār* 3rd plural
-*mīr* 2nd plural

present tense: -*kiṉṟ*-

negative absolutive: -*āmal*

special conditionals: -*ēl* (after root, after peyareccam, after finite verb)
-*ākil*
-*il*
-*āl* (mostly already after absolutive, but also found after finite forms)

special imperatives: -*ēl* (negative)
-*miṉkaḷ* (old form plus plural suffix)
-*īrkaḷ*

Complete list of the *Eṭṭuttokai*

1. *Kuṟuntokai* (no commentary)
2. *Naṟṟiṇai* (no commentary)
3. *Akanāṉūṟu* (anonymous commentary on AN 1-90)
4. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (anonymous commentary on PN 1-250)
5. *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* (anonymous commentary)
6. *Patiṟṟuppattu* (anonymous commentary)
7. *Kalittokai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
8. *Paripāṭal* (comm. by Parimēlaḻakar)

Complete list of the Pattuppāṭṭu

1. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Parimēlaḻakar, etc.)
2. *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
3. *Cirupaṇāṟṟuppaṭai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
4. *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
5. *Mullaippāṭṭu* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
6. *Maturaikkāñci* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
7. *Neṭunalvāṭai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
8. *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
9. *Paṭṭiṉappālai* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)
10. *Malaipaṭukaṭām* (comm. by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar)

Complete List of *Patiṉeṇ Kīḻkkaṇakku*:

1. *Nālaṭiyār* (didactic, comm. by Patumaṉār, Tarumaṉār, etc.)
2. *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai* (didactic)
3. *Iṉṉānāṟpatu* (didactic)
4. *Iṉiyavaināṟpatu* (didactic)
5. *Kārnāṟpatu* (Akam)
6. *Kaḷavaḻināṟpatu* (Puṟam)
7. *Aintiṇaiyaimpatu* (Akam, anonymous comm.)
8. *Aintiṇaiyeḻupatu* (Akam, anonymous comm.)
9. *Tiṇaimoḻiyaimpatu* (Akam, anonymous comm.)
10. *Tiṇaimālainūṟṟaimpatu* (Akam, anonymous comm.)
11. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (didactic, comm. by Maṇakkuṭavar, Parimēlaḻakar, etc.)
12. *Pañcamūlam* (didactic)
13. *Ācārakkōvai* (didactic)
14. *Paḻamoḻi* (didactic)
15. *Ciṟupañcamūlam* (didactic)
16. *Mutumoḻikkāñci* (didactic)
17. *Ēlāti* (didactic)
18. *Kainnilai* (Akam)
19. *Tirikaṭukam* (didactic)

Complete list of the Paṉṉiru *Tirumuṟai*

TM I-III:	1. **Campantar**:	***Tēvāram***
TM IV-VI:	2. **Appar**:	***Tēvāram***
TM VII:	3. **Cuntarar**:	***Tēvāram***
TM VIII:	4. **Māṇikkavācakar**:	***Tiruvācakam, Tirukkōvaiyār***
TM IX:	5. Tirumāḷikaittēvar,	
	6. Karuvūrttēvar,	
	7. Pūnturutti Nampikāṭanampi,	
	8. Kaṇṭarāttittar,	
	9. Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ,	
	10. Tiruvāḻiyamutaṉār,	
	11. Puruṭōttamanampi,	
	12. Cētirāyar:	*Tiruvicaippā*
	13. Cēntaṉār:	*Tiruvicaippā, Tiruppallāṇṭu*
TM X:	14. Tirumūlar:	*Tirumantiram, Tantiram* 1-9
TM XI:	15. Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyar:	*Tirumukappācuram*
	16. **Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār**:	*Aṟputat Tiruvantāti, Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Tiruvalaṅkāṭṭu Patikam-s*
	17. Aiyaṭikaḷ Kātavar Kōṉ:	*Kṣētirattiruveṇpā*
	18. Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ:	*Poṉvaṇṇattantāti, Ñāṉavulā, Ārūrmummaṇi*
	19. **Nakkīratēvar**:	*Kayilaipāti Kaḷattipātiyantāti, Tiruvīṅkōymalai Eḻuppatu, Tiruvalañcuḻi Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai, Peruntēvapāṇi, Kōpappiracātam, Kār Eṭṭu, Pōṟṟit Tirukkaliveṇpā,* ***Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai****, Tirukaṇṇappatēvar Tirumaṟam*
	20. Kallātatēvar:	*Tirukkaṇṇappatēvar Tirumaṟam*
	21. Kapilatēvar:	*Mūttanāyaṉār Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Civaperumāṉ Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Civaperumāṉ Tiruvantāti*
	22. Paraṇatēvar:	*Civaperumāṉ Tiruvantāti*
	23. Iḷamperumāṉ Aṭikaḷ:	*Civaperumāṉ Tirumummaṇikkōvai*
	24. Atirāvaṭikaḷ:	*Mūttapiḷḷayār Tirumummaṇikkōvai*
	25. Paṭṭiṉattup Piḷḷaiyār:	*Kōyil Nāṉmaṇimālai, Tirukkaḻumala Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyār Tiruvantāti, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Orupā Orupatu*
	26. Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi:	*Tirunaraiyūr Vināyakar Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Kōyil Tiruppaṇṇiyar Viruttam, Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti, Āḻuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvantāti, Āḻuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruccaṇpaiviruttam Āḻuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Mummaṇikkōvai Āḻuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvulāmālai, Āḻuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirukkalampakam, Āḻuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttokai, Tirunāvukkaracu Tēvar Tiruvēkātaca Mālai*
TM XII:	27. Cēkkiḻār:	*Tiruttoṇṭar purāṇam = Periyapurāṇam*

Complete List of the *Nālāyirat Tivyappirapantam*

1. Poykaiyāḻvār: *First Tiruvantāti*
2. Pūtattāḻvār: *Second Tiruvantāti*
3. Pēyāḻvār: *Third Tiruvantāti*
4. Tirumaḻicaiyā.: *Tiruccantaviruttam, Nāṉmukam Tiruvantāti*
5. Nammāḻvār: *Tiruviruttam, Tiruvāciriyam, Periyatiruvantāti, Tiruvāymoḻi*
6. Periyāḻvār: *Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*
7. Āṇṭāḷ: *Tiruppāvai, Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*
8. Tirumaṅkaiyā.: *Periyatirumoḻi, Tirukuṛuntāṇṭakam, Tiruneṭuntāṇṭakam, Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai, Ciṟiyatirumaṭal, Periyatirumaṭal*
9. Kulacēkaraṉā.: *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*
10. Tiruppāṇā.: *Amalaṉātippirāṉ*
11. Toṇṭaraṭipoṭiyā: *Tirumālai, Tirupaḷḷiyeḻucci*
12. Madhurakaviyā.: *Kaṇṇinuṇ Ciṟuttāmpu*

List of first-millennium "Epics" = *Aimperuṅkāppiyam*

1. *Cilappatikāram*
2. *Maṇimēkalai*
3. *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*
4. *Vaḷaiyāpati*
5. *Kuṇṭalakēci*

Peruṅkatai
Cuḷāmaṇi
Nīlakēci

Sandhi in Classical Tamil

(list compiled by Sascha Ebeling)

The following is a short, by no means comprehensive, list of the most frequent sandhi phenomena, both internal and external, in Classical Tamil. For further niceties, see Andronov 1969, §§ 15-23, and Beythan 1943, §§ 21-28, from which also most of the following examples have been taken.

Vowel sandhi

Sandhi phenomena are as in Modern Tamil.
Additionally, one finds:

-u + y- > iy, *veṇkōṭu yāṉai* 'white tusked elephant'.

Consonant sandhi

m + k > ṅk
m + c > ñc
m + t > nt

m + k/c/t/p > kk/cc/tt/pp in compounds: *kamalam* + *kaṇ* > *kamalakkaṇ* ‘lotus eye‘

m + m > m, *nāmam* + *māṟum* > *nāmamāṟum* ‘the name will change’
m + m > mm, if the first word is monosyllabic and short: *cem* + *maṇ* > *cemmaṇ* ‘red earth’

m + n > n, *maram* + *nīṇṭatu* > *maranīṇṭatu* ‘the tree grew long’
m + n > nn, if the first word is monosyllabic and short: *vem* + *nīr* > *vennīr* ‘hot water’
m + ñ > ññ, if the first word is monosyllabic and short: tam + ñāṉ > taññāṉ ‘their string’

l + k > ṟk
l + c > ṟc
l + p > ṟp

l + t > ṟṟ or ḵṟ
l + t > ṟ, if the first word is in the nominative form: *āl* + *tītu* > *āṟītu* ‘the banyan is bad’
l + m > ṉm
l + n > ṉṉ or ṉ

ḷ + k > ṭk
ḷ + c > ṭc or ṇk
ḷ + p > ṭp or ṇk
ḷ + t > ṭṭ or ḵt
ḷ + t, if the first word is in the nominative form: *nāḷ* + *tōṟum* > *nāṭōṟum* ‘daily’
ḷ + m > ṇm
ḷ + n > ṇṇ or ṇ

ṇ + k > ṭk
ṇ + c > ṭc
ṇ + p > ṭp
ṇ + t > ṇṭ or ṭṭ
ṇ + n > ṇṇ or ṇ

ṉ + k > ṟk
ṉ + c > ṟc
ṉ + t > ṉṟ or ṟṟ
ṉ + p > ṟp
ṉ + n > ṉṉ or ṉ
ḷ + ṉ > ṇṇ or ṇ

Consonant gemination

k, c, t, p undergo gemination:

- after the accusative suffix *-ai*.
- after the dative suffix *-(uk)ku*.
- after *-a* of the infinitive.
- after *-i* of the viṉaiyeccam (including the forms *āy* and *pōy*).
- after *-u* preceded by a double consonant (as in the oblique case).
- after the demonstrative clitics *a-, i-, u-* and after *e-* (also after *inta, anta, enta*).
- after *-ā* of the positive viṉaiyeccam (converb): *uṇṇā-c-ceṉṟāṉ* 'He ate and went off'.
- after - of the negative peyareccam (relative participle) *ōṭā-k-kutirai* 'a non-running horse'.
- after monosyllabic words ending in a long vowel.
- in compounds (of *karmadhāraya* or *genitive-tatpuruṣa* kind): after mono- and disyllabic neuter nouns ending in a vowel or *-y, -r, -ḷ*: *vīti-k-katavu* 'street door'.

Gemination does *not* occur:

- after a finite verb form.
- after *-ā* of the negative viṉaiyeccam (converb): *uṇṇā-pōṉāṉ* 'Without having eaten, he went off'.
- after a vocative form.
- after an imperative singular (= verbal root).
- after the clitics *-ā, -ē, -ō*.
- after the (declension) endings *-iliruntu, -ōṭu, -iṉiṉṟu, -uṭaiya*.
- after the pronouns *itu, atu, etu, ivai, avai, evai*, nī.
- after *eṉṉa, ettaṉai, ellā, pala, cila.*

Grammar

grammars: Beythan 1943
Agesthialingom 1979
Rajam 1992
Lehmann 1994, 1998

Nouns

1. Word Classes and Basic Inflection

1.1.1 cases/non-marking of cases

zero = nom.
(voc. = nom. or minus ending)
oblique -*iṉ*/-*tu*/gemination
cases dat. –*(k)ku*
loc. *-āṉ, (-il), -akattu, -iṭai, -kaṇ, -vayiṉ, -mutal, -talai, -māṭṭu -uḷ; -tēettu, -mēṉa (...)*
soc. *-oṭu/(-uṭaṉ)*
(inst. *-āl/-āṉ, -oṭu*)
(acc. *-ai*)
(gen. *-atu, -uṭai/-keḻu*?)
(abl. = comp. *-iṉ*?)

1.1.2. types of nouns – list of nominal suffixes (the only existing one in Zvelebil 1967)

primary suffixes:
[root nouns – definition problem: should nouns not identical with verbal roots and ending in consonants other than those of the obvious suffixes generally be termed root nouns(?)]
-(v)u forming neuter nouns (often freely variable with *-am*)
-am
-ā
-aṉ distinction (sometimes free varitation with *-am*)
-ar ? (*kāmar* desirable?)

-uḷ forming neuter nouns; less productive (*paiyyuḷ*?, *viḷaiyuḷ* NA 45.9, *veppuḷ* PN 120.1)

-(v/cc/tt)i forming feminine nouns (*pulaicci* “washer woman”)
-i forming agent nouns (bhakti: *ēnti* “holder”)

note: Tamil nouns are neuter, unless they are marked for upper class (= m./f./h.) by a pronominal (or quasi-pronominal) suffix.

-vu/-(p)pu forming abstract nouns to verbal roots
-vai
-mai
-(k)kai
-(c)ci
-(t)ti
-al/-(t)tal forming verbal nouns

verbal root in *guṇa*: *aṭu – āṭu*

secondary suffixes:
the pronominal suffixes (short and long) –forming pronominal + participial nouns

sg.
1. *-eṉ/ēṉ*
2. *-i, -āy, -ai, -oy/-ōy*
3.m. *-aṉ/-āṉ, -oṉ/-ōṉ*
3.f. *-aḷ/-āḷ, -oḷ/-ōḷ*
3.n. *-(a)tu*

pl.
1. *-am/-ām, -em, -ēm, -om/-ōm*
2. *-ir/-īr (-īrkaḷ, -mīr, -mīrkaḷ)*
3.h. *-ar/-ār, -or/-ōr (-mar, -mār*) (pl. *-kaḷ, -arkaḷ/-ārkaḷ*)[1]
3.n. *-a/-ai* (pl. *-kaḷ*)

-amai forming perfective verbal nouns
-āmai forming negative verbal nouns
-ā/-ātu forming negative stems

[1] The pl. suffix *-kaḷ* (in 2nd and 3rd person) can take a lengthened vocative form *-kāḷ*.

1.2. pronouns

personal *yāṉ/(nāṉ) – eṉ, yām/nām – em /nam*
nī – niṉ/(uṉ), nīr[2]*, nīyir – num*
tāṉ – taṉ, tām – tam (3rd person/reflexive)

demonstrative: *i-, (u-), a-*
interrogative *e-/y-*
indefinite *-um*

1.3. adjectives (proper = nominal stem?; formans: *-a, -am*; position)

1	*nal-l-ā* (adj.)	good cow
2	*aruñ-curam* (> *arumai*)	difficult desert
3	*uyar-varai* (verbal root)	high mountain
4	*kuṇṭu-nīr* (noun)	deep water
	kāṉa maññai	forest peacock
5	*kāla ... kuruku*	legged ... heron
6	*taṇṇam tuṟaivaṉ*	cool ghat-he
	kaḷḷiyam kāṭu	Kaḷḷi^am^ wilderness
[7	*periya*	big: modern form]

1.4. adverbs (pronominal adverbs of place, time and modus; suffix n.sg./n.pl.(-obl.); dat.(?); *-ē; eṉa*; inf., abs.)

1 *āṇṭu, īṅku, aṅṅaṉam, eṉṟum // naṉi*
2 *ciṟitu* (KT14.6), *nuṇṇitiṉ* (KT167.6), *eḷitaṉiṉ* (NA239.3); *kaṭiya* (KT194.3)
3 *naṟku*?
4 *vallē*
5 *taṇṇeṉa*
6 *mika; iṟappa* (NA 338.4)
7 *viraii* (KT 62.2)

1.5. numerals see anywhere; note: short and long forms, *sandhi* forms

1.6. ideophones [Chevillard 2004]

1.7. particles [Wilden 2006]

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[2] Very rare in the early texts, but attested once in NA 48.8.

2. Nominal Sentences

word-order: S O P
focalisation: particles

no copula, but occasional emphasis with verb of existence
NA 400 *evan̠ piḻaipp' uṇṭō* what mistake it-is$^{\bar{o}}$

KT 207.1 *celavu aritu ākum en̠ṟu* going difficult-it becoming- said

unmarked: noun to noun

KT 135.1f. *vin̠aiyē āṭavarkk' uyirē vāḷ nutal*
man̠ai uṟai makaḷirkk' āṭavar uyir

labour$^{\bar{e}}$ man(h.dat.) life$^{\bar{e}}$ light forehead
house remain- women(dat.) man(h.) life

KT 312.1 *iraṇṭ' aṟi kaḷvi nam kātalōḷē*
two know- robberess our(obl.) lady-love$^{\bar{e}}$

marked: noun to pronominal noun (as adj./denom.)

KT 18.5 *uyir tava ciṟitu kāmamō peritē*
life very small-it desire$^{\bar{o}}$ big-it$^{\bar{e}}$

NA 101.5f. *tuṟai naṇi irunta pākkamum uṟai nan̠i*
in̠ituman̠

ghat nearness been- village^{um} staying much
pleasant-it$^{ma\underline{n}}$

KT 12.4 *kavalaitt' en̠pa avar cen̠ṟa āṟē*
crossroad-it they-say he(h.)- gone- way$^{\bar{e}}$

[verbal sentence/pronominal noun
KT 325.4 *yāṇṭ' uḷan̠ kollō* where he-is$^{koll\bar{o}}$
KT 379.1 *in̠ṟ(u) yāṇṭaiyan̠ō tōḻi* today where-he$^{\bar{o}}$ friend]

pronominal nouns – participial nouns – finite verbs
formation of participial nouns

imperfective:	1	root-*v/p/pp*-pron. suff.
	2	root-*v/p/pp*-pronoun (late?)
	3	root-*un*-pron. suff.
	4	root-*um*-pron.suffix/pronoun (late?)
perfective:	1	root-*nt/t/iy/in̲/tt*-pron.(/pronoun)
	2	root-*nt/n̲r̲-icin̲*-pron. suff. (not 4th + 11th class)

possible palatisation after *-i* and *-ai: ar̲iñar*

formation of pronominal nouns: noun/adjective(-obl.)-pron.suff.
[Lehmann 2004]

	nāṭu land	*celvam* prosperity	*ar̲am* duty	*vaṇṇam* colour
stem	*nāṭan̲*	*celvar*	*ar̲avan̲*	*vaṇṇan̲*
oblique st.	*nāṭṭan̲*	*[celvattar]*	*neñcatta/ān̲*	
oblique suff.	*[nāṭṭin̲an̲]*	*[celvattin̲ar]*	*mukattin̲aḷ*	

kātalar – *kātalōr* (poem end)

productive words (forms attested in KT/NA/AN)

noun		adjective		
an̲pu love		*iḷa(m)* young		
an̲pin̲ai	2.sg.			
ān̲pin̲an̲	3.m.		*iḷaiyōn̲*	
			iḷaiyōḷ	
an̲pin̲ar	3.h.	*iḷaiyar*	*iḷaiyōr*	*iḷaiyavar* (full pronoun)
an̲pin̲a	n.pl.			

defective stem (verbal? nominal?)
uṭai- possess-

uṭaiyēn̲	1.sg.	
uṭaiyai	2.sg.	*uṭaiyōy*
uṭaiyaḷ	f.sg.	
uṭaiyan̲	m.sg.	
uṭaiyatu	n.sg.	
uṭaiyam	1.pl.	
uṭaiyīr	2.pl.	
uṭaiyar	3.h.	*uṭaiyōr*
uṭaiya	n.pl.	

types of relation:

celvaṉ	he who is prosperous
muṭiyiṉaḷ	she who has a hair knot
nāṭaṉ	he who is from a country
aḷiyaḷ	she who is to be pitied
aṟavar	they who adhere to duty
periyar	the who are big
muṉṉar	the who are before

special feminine suffix:

tōḷi	she who has a shoulder (post-Caṅkam)

3. Attribution

(noun, pronominal n., participial n., pronoun, adjective, adverb)

word-order: S O P with left-branching attribution

marked relation (obl.)

KT 24.1 *karum kāl vēmpiṉ oḷ pū yāṇar*
black leg Neem-tree^{in} bright flower freshness

marked relation (adj. suff.)

KT 16.5 *am kāl kaḷḷiyam kāṭu* pretty leg Kaḷḷi^{am} wilderness

marked relation (possessive, pron.n.)

KT 56.3 *vaḷaiyuṭai kaiyaḷ* bangle possess- hand-she

unmarked relation (ambiguous)

KT 286.4 *peru amar maḻai kaṇ koṭicci*
big beauty rain eye creeper-she

bracketed relation (asymmetrical)

KT 15.4f. *āy kaḻal*
cē ilai veḷ vēl viṭalai

select- anklet
red leaf white spear warrior

bracketed relation (symmetrical)

KT 101.4f. *pu pōl uṇ kaṇ poṉ pōl mēṉi*
māṇ vari alkul kuṟu makaḷ

flower similar collyrium eye gold similar body
fame line hip short daughter

minimal string

KT 2.1 *koṅku tēr vāḻkkai am ciṟai tumpi*
pollen search- livelihood pretty wing bee

comparison

KT 23.2f. *maṉavu kōpp′ aṉṉa nal neṭum kūntal*
akaval makaḷē

chank-bead string like good long tresses
Akaval woman[ē]

adverbs

KT 37.1 *nacai perit′ uṭaiyar* longing big-it possess-he(h.)

adverbial phrase of place

KT 138.2f. *em il ayalat′ ēḻil umpar* | ... nocci

our- house neighbourhood-it Ēḻil(-hill) beyond | ... Nocci-tree

8. String Attribution

(mixed nominal and verbal forms)

all the former plus infinitive and both sorts of *peyareccam* constructions
subject apposition
comparison/simile

i.a. verbal root + *peyareccam* + *absolutive*

KT 88.2f. *ciṟu kaṇ perum kaḷiṟu vayam puli tākki*
tol muraṇ cōrum tuṉṉ' arum cāral

little eye big elephant-bull strength tiger attacked
old antagony diminishing- approach- difficult slope

p.a. *peyareccam* + infinitive + comparison

KT 35.2-5 *ciṉai pacum pāmpiṉ cūl mutirpp' aṉṉa*
kaṉaitta karumpiṉ kūmpu poti aviḻa
nuṇ uṟai aḻi tuḷi talaiiya
taṇvaral vāṭai

twig green snake$^{i\underline{n}}$ egg ripeness like
ripened- sugar-cane$^{i\underline{n}}$ close- bud open
fine drip- perish- drop offered-
cool coming north wind

i.a. *pey*. + abs. + caus.

KT 69.1-5 *karum kaṇ tā kalai perum piṟit' uṟṟeṉa*
kaimmai uyyā kāmar manti
kallā val paṟaḻ kiḷai-mutal cērtti
ōṅku varai aṭukkattu pāynt' uyir cekukkum
cāral nāṭa

black eye rushing male-monkey big other-it had-because
widowhood escape-not desire female-monkey
learn-not strong young-one horde(loc.) united
high mountain mountain-side- sprung life destroying-
slope land-he(voc.)

i.a. *pey*. + comparison + inf. + caus.

KT 139.1-5 *maṉai uṟai kōḻi kuṟum kāl pēṭai*
vēli veruk' iṉam mālai uṟṟeṉa
pukum iṭaṉ aṟiyātu tokup' uṭaṉ kuḻīiya
paital piḷḷai kiḷai payirnt' āaṅk'
iṉṉāt icaikkum ampal

house remain- fowl short leg she-bird
hedge wild-cat group evening had-because

entering- place know-not gathered together crowd(inf.)
trouble child relations called like
unpleasant-it sounding- calumny

subject apposition

KT 285.1-3 *vaikal vaikal vaikavum vārār*
ellā ellai ellaiyum tōṉṟār
yāṇṭ' uḷar-kollō tōḻi

day day being-kept(inf.)$^{\text{um}}$ come-not-he(h.)
all daylight edge$^{\text{um}}$ appear-not-he(h.)
where he-is(h.)$^{\text{kollō}}$ friend

comparison

KT 160.1-5 *neruppiṉ aṉṉa cem talai aṉṟil*
iṟaviṉ aṉṉa koṭu vāy peṭaiyoṭu
taṭaviṉ ōṅku ciṉai kaṭciyiṉ pirintōr
kai aṟa naralum naḷḷeṉ yāmattu

fire$^{\text{iṉ}}$ like red head Aṉṟil(-bird)
prawn$^{\text{iṉ}}$ like curved mouth female-bird-with
tree(?)$^{\text{iṉ}}$ high twig nest$^{\text{iṉ}}$ separated-they(h.)
action end calling- deep(id.)- midnight-

NA 190.5-7 *vaṇṭu mūcu neytal nel iṭai malarum*
ariyalam kaḻaṉi ārkkāṭṭ' aṉṉa
kāmar paṇai tōḷ

bee swarm- blue-water-lily rice middle blossoming-
nectar$^{\text{am}}$ field Ārkkāṭu(p.n. of a town)- like
desire bamboo shoulder

simile

KT 40.4f. *cem pulam peyal nīr pōla*
aṉp' uṭai neñcam tām kalantaṉavē.

red soil raining water be-similar
love possess- heart self(pl.) they-mingled(n.pl.)$^{\text{ē}}$

14. Denominative

(pronominal noun optionally with special mark: *ūra<u>n</u>/ūrā<u>n</u>*)

adhoc = literary forms

KT 7.1f. *villō<u>n</u> kāla<u>n</u>a kaḻalē toṭiyōḷ*
mel aṭi mēlavum cilampē

bow-he leg-they(n.pl.) anklet$^{\text{ē}}$ armlet-she
tender foot above-they(n.pl.)$^{\text{um}}$ tinkling-anklet$^{\text{ē}}$

KT 97.3 *tuṟaiva<u>n</u> tam ūrā<u>n</u>ē* ghat-he self- village-he$^{\text{ē}}$

KT 242.1-4 *kā<u>n</u>am kōḻi kavar kural cēval*
oḷ poṟi eruntin taṇ citar uṟaippa
putal nīr vārum pū nāṟu puṟavi<u>n</u>
cīṟ' ūrōḷē maṭantai

forest fowl seize- voice cock
bright spot neck$^{\text{in}}$ cool drop drip(inf.)
shrub water overflowing- flower smell- woodland$^{\text{i<u>n</u>}}$
little village-she$^{\text{ē}}$ girl

NA 59.6-8 *val pulam kāṭṭu nāṭṭatu-ē a<u>n</u>pu kalantu*
namvayi<u>n</u> purinta koḷkaiyoṭu neñcatt'
uḷḷi<u>n</u>aḷ uṟaivōḷ ūrē

hard field wilderness- land-it$^{\text{ē}}$ love mingled
us(loc.) desired- principle-with heart-
remembered-she remain-she village$^{\text{ē}}$

KT 51.3f. *cērppa<u>n</u>ai | yā<u>n</u>um kātalē<u>n</u>*
coast-he(acc.) | I^{um} love-I

forming paradigms (*aḷi, uṭai*)

KT 30.6 *tamiyē<u>n</u>-ma<u>n</u>ṟa aḷiyē<u>n</u> yā<u>n</u>ē*
alone-I$^{\text{ma<u>n</u>ṟa}}$ pity-I I$^{\text{ē}}$

KT 212.4f. *aḷitō tā<u>n</u>ē kāmam*
viḷivatu-ma<u>n</u>ṟa nōkō yā<u>n</u>ē

pity/love-it$^{\text{ō}}$ self$^{\text{ē}}$ desire
perish-it$^{\text{ma<u>n</u>ṟa}}$ I-ache$^{\text{ō}}$ I$^{\text{ē}}$

(reference to NA 355.10 ipt. *aḷimati* not to v.r. *aḷi*, but to denom.?)

KT 206.5 *kuṟukal ōmpumiṉ aṟiv′ uṭaiyīrē*
nearing beware(ipt.) knowledge possess-you(pl.)[ē]

NA 183.6-8 *vayiṉ-tōṟu*
iṉṉā talaikkum ūtaiyoṭ′ ōrum
num il pulampiṉ mālaiyum uṭaittē

side-ever
pleasant-not whipping- cold-wind-with listening-(?)
your(pl.)- house loneliness[iṉ] evening[um] possess-it[ē]

Verbs

aspects: imperfective – perfective/inchoative

Finite and Non-finite Forms (general: the fluidity of category)

ambiguous forms (*v/p/pp* + pron. suff., *nt/t/iy/iṉ/tt* + pron. suff.)
formation of finite verbs (-*ku*- infix for i.a., -*aṉ*- infix for p.a.)
marking of finite verbs (particle, position)

the concept of *muṟṟeccam* (an additional finite form within a sentence)
[-*aṉ*- as a possible infix: i.a.? AN 16.14 *viraivaṉaḷ*]

the suffixes (almost identical to the pronominal suff.)
sg.

1.	*-eṉ/-ēṉ ,-aṉ*	
2.	*-i, -āy, -ai*	*// -oy/-ōy*
3.m.	*-aṉ/-āṉ,*	*//-oṉ/-ōṉ*
3.f.	*-aḷ/-āḷ*	*//-oḷ/-ōḷ*
3.n.	*-(a)tu*	

pl.

1.	*-am/-ām, -em, -ēm,*	*// -om/-ōm*
2.	*-ir/-īr*	
3.h.	*-ar/-ār, (pl. -kaḷ)*	*// -or/-ōr*
3.n.	*-a/-ai, -avai*	

additional forms:

1.sg. i.a.	v.r.-asp. infix-*al*
(1.pl. p.a.	v.r.-asp. infix-*ikum* NA 20.1 *kaṇṭikum* we-saw)
3.pl.(h./n.) i.a.	v.r.-*pa*, (v.r.-*mār* NA 208.6 *nōṉmār* he-suffered)
3.sg. (m./f./n.)	v.r.-*um* (habitual future = identical with the i.a.

peyareccam)

Types of Clauses
[Zvelebil 1967]

4. Absolutive/Co(n)verb/Verbal Participal/*Vinaiyeccam*

changing or not changing the subject (theoretically the latter)

types: perfective stem + -u (exception: 5th class ending in *–i*)
[special form for 5th class ending in *–uvu: aḷapeṭai*
taḻuvu: taḻīi, taḻīiya]
verbal root + *(p)pu*
(verbal root + *-ā/-ātu*)
verbal root + *-ū* (very rare: NA 242.10 *tēṭūu ni<u>n</u>ṟa iralai ēṟē;*
Pati 13.11 *kūṟṟu aṭūu ni<u>n</u>ṟa yākkai pōla*)
neg. verbal root + *-ā/-ātu*
verbal root + *-āmal* (later; from Kali on)
verbal root + *-āmai* (intermittent formation; stray form in Kali)

classical
KT 69.2-4 *manti* | *kallā val paṟaḻ kiḷai-mutal cērtti*
ōṅku varai aṭukkattu pāynt' uyir cekukkum

female-monkey | learn-not strong young-one horde(loc.) united
high mountain mountain-side- sprung life destroying-

subject open
KT 4.2,4 ... *kaṇṇīr tāṅki*
... *nōm e<u>n</u> neñcē.*

... eye-water endured
... aches my- heart[ē]

ambiguous relation
KT 21.1-4 *vaṇṭu paṭa tatainta koṭi iṇar iṭaiyiṭupu*
po<u>n</u> cey pu<u>n</u>ai iḻai kaṭṭiya makaḷir
katuppi<u>n</u> tō<u>n</u>ṟum putu pūm ko<u>n</u>ṟai | *kā<u>n</u>am ...*

bee happen(inf.) been-full- creeper cluster between placed
gold make- adorn- ornament tied- women
hair[i<u>n</u>] appearing- new flower Laburnum(-tree) | forest

change of subject (embedding)
KT 34.2f. *tamiyar uṟaṅkum kauvai i<u>n</u>ṟ' āy*
i<u>n</u>iyatu kēṭṭ' i<u>n</u>p' uṟuka i ūrē

alone-they(h.) slumbering- affliction is-not become(abs.)
pleasant-it heard joy may-have this- village[ē]

change of subject

KT 88.2f. *ciṟu kaṇ perum kaḷiṟu vaya puli tākki*
tol muraṇ cōrum tuṉṉ' arum cāral

little eye big elephant-bull strength tiger attacked
old antagony diminishing- approach- difficult slope

NA 369.1 *cuṭar ciṉam taṇintu kuṉṟam cēra*
sun anger decreased hill join(inf.)

typical

NA 328.1-3 *kiḻaṅku kīḻ vīḻntu tēṉ mēl tūṅki*
cil cila vitti pal pala viḷaintu
tiṉai kiḷi katiyum perum kal nāṭaṉ

bulbous-root below descended honey above hung
few few(n.pl.) sown many many(n.pl.) ripened
millet parrot chasing-away- big stone land-he

comparison clause (cf. KT 53 for abs. + *aṉṉa*)

KT 18.4f. *ciṟu kōṭṭu perum paḻam tūṅki yāṅk' ivaḷ*
uyir tava ciṟitu kāmamō peritē.

small twig big fruit hung like she-
life very small-it desire$^{\bar{o}}$ big-it$^{\bar{e}}$

causal clause

KT 42.2f. *karuvi mā maḻai vīḻnteṉa aruvi*
viṭar akatt' iyampum ...

amount big rain fallen-because waterfall
cave inside- sounding-

5. Infinitive(/Absolutive) (different types = modalities?)

changing the subject (mostly)

types: *-a* added to the stem according to class; most frequent; mostly consecutive (so that) or simultaneous (while), occasionally causal or final, rarely cond.

-iya (mostly with *aḷapeṭai īiya*) hom. to opt.
-iyar (mostly *īiyar*) often final hom. to opt.
-mār not so frequent
[-*vāṉ/p/pāṉ* rarely if ever in the old texts hom. to i.a. m.sg.]

KT 114.3 *cela viyam koṇmō* go(inf.) order take(ipt.)

so that

KT 65.1-3 *val paral teḷ aṟal parukiya iralai taṉ*
iṉp' uṟu tuṇaiyoṭu maṟuvant' ukaḷa
tāṉ vantaṉṟē taḷi taru taṇ kār

hard pebble become-clear- water drunk- Iralai[-deer] own-
joy have- companion-with mixed-up jump(inf.)
self it-came[ē] drip- give- cool rainy-season

while/as

KT 195.1 *cuṭar ciṉam taṇintu kuṉṟam cēra*
paṭar cumant' eḻutaru paiyuḷ mālai
yāṇṭ' uḷar-kollō

sun anger decreased hill join(inf.)
affliction laden rise- give- sorrow evening
where he-is(h.)[kollō]

that (indirect speech)

KT 24.5f. ... *koṭiyōr nāvē*
kātalar akala kalleṉṟavvē

... cruel-they tongue[ē]
lover(h.) depart(inf.) 'kal'-they-said(n.pl.)[ē]

when/if

KT 127.4f. *oru niṉ pāṇaṉ poyyaṉ āka*
uḷḷa pāṇar ellām

one your- bard liar become(inf.)
be(pey.) bard(h.) all

since

KT 212.1-3 *koṇkaṉ ūrnta koṭuñci neṭum tēr*
teḷ kaṭal aṭai karai teḷi maṇi olippa
kāṇa vantu

man-from-the-sea(?) mounted- handle long chariot
clear sea settle- shore clear bell sound(inf.)
see(inf.) come

-iya

KT 269.4-6 *yāyum*
uppai māṟi veḷ nel tarīiya
uppu viḷai kaḻaṉi ceṉṟaṉaḷ

mother[um]
salt(acc.) exchanged white rice give(inf.)
salt ripen- field she-went

-iyar

KT 27.4f. *pacalai uṇīiyar vēṇṭum*
titalai alkul eṉ māmai kaviṉē

pallor eat(inf.) is-necessary
beauty-spot hip my- blackness beauty[ē]

-mār

KT 155.5f. *mālai naṉi virunt ayarmār*
tēr varum

evening abundant feast be-engaged-in(inf.)
chariot coming-

[*-vāṉ*

Pari 7.57 *avaḷai kai piṇai nīkkuvāṉ pāyvāḷ*
she(acc.) hand link remove(inf.) jump-she]

not changing the subject

KT 285.1-3 *vaikal vaikal vaikavum vārār*
ellā ellai ellaiyum tōṉṟār
yāṇṭ' uḷar-kollō tōḻi

day day being-kept(inf.)[um] come-not-he(h.)
all daylight edge[um] appear-not-he(h.)
where he-is(h.)[kollō] friend

6. *Peyareccam* p.a./*Peyareccam* i.a. − Hab. Fut./Temporal Clauses

pey. p.a. governing clauses, but short ones, attributive
-*um* pey. usually governing clauses, exceptionally attributive

attributive
KT 77.3 *uḻanta vampalar* died- traveller(h.)

KT 35.3 *kaṉaitta karumpiṉ* ripened- sugar-cane^{iṉ}

minor clauses
KT 86.1 *ciṟai paṉi uṭainta cē ari maḻai kaṇ*
check- dew broken- red streak rain eye

KT 79.1f. *kāṉam yāṉai tōl nayant' uṇṭa*
pori tāḷ ōmai vaḷi poru neṭum ciṉai

forest elephant skin longed- eaten-
be-parched- foot Ōmai(-tree) wind beat- long twig

KT 348.2f. *pulam tēr yāṉai kōṭṭ' iṭai oḻinta*
ciṟu vī mullai kompiṉ

field search- elephant horn(obl.) middle stayed-behind-
little blossom jasmine twig^{iṉ}

adverbial clauses of time with *pey*. p.a. (i.a. also possible)
KT 25.5 *kurukum uṇṭu tāṉ maṇanta ñāṉṟē*
heron^{um} *it-is he united-time*^{ē}

adverbial clauses of manner with *pey*. p.a. (i.a. also possible; late)
AinAim 26.1+4 *peru nakai ākiṉṟē ... iṭar uṟṟavāṟu.*
big laughter it-became^{ē} ... affliction had-way

i.a. attributive
KT 58.1 *iṭikkum kēḷir* admonishing- relatives/friends

i.a. minor clause
KT 143.2 *paḻiyum añcum payam malai nāṭaṉ*
blame^{um} fearing- yield mountain land-he

i.a. relative clause

KT 25.3-5 *tiṉai tāḷ aṉṉa ciṟu pacum kāla*
oḻuku nīr āral pārkkum | kuruku

millet foot like small green legged
flow- water Āral(-fish) looking- | heron

i.a. adverbial clause of place

KT 38.1-3 *kāṉam maññai aṟai īṉ muṭṭai*
veyil āṭu mucuviṉ kuruḷai uruṭṭum
kuṉṟam nāṭaṉ

forest peacock rock bring-forth egg
sunlight play- langur[iṉ] young-one rolling-
hill land-he

i.a. ambiguous relations

KT 8.1f. *kaḻaṉi māttu viḷaint' uku tīm paḻam*
paḻaṉa vāḷai katūum ūraṉ

paddy-field mango-tree(obl.) ripened shed- sweet fruit
pond Vāḷai(-fish) seizing- village-he

i.a. adverbial clause of time

KT 141.3-7 *kollai*
neṭum kai val māṉ kaṭum pakai uḻanta
kuṟum kai irum puli kōḷ val ēṟṟai
paim kaṇ cem-nāy paṭu patam pārkkum
ar' iruḷ naṭu-nāḷ varuti

clearing
long hand strong stag fierce enmity borne-
short hand dark tiger taking strong male
green eye red dog happen- carcas looking-
difficult darkness middle day you-come(sub.)

tōṉṟum comparison clause

KT 47.1f. *karum kāl vēṅkai vī uku tuṟu kal*
irum puli kuruḷaiyiṉ tōṉṟum kāṭṭ' iṭai

black leg Vēṅkai blossom shed- thick stone
dark/big tiger young[iṉ] appearing- wilderness middle

peyareccam + noun as conjunction forming temporal and modal clauses:
-ñāṉṟu, -kāl, -iṭai; -paṭi, -āṟu, -vakai, -vaṇṇam...

hab.fut. and -*um pey*. only distinguishable by syntax (at times both possible)
hab.fut. for all sg. persons (m./f./n.) and n.pl.

m.sg.
KT 8.6 *mēvaṉa ceyyum taṉ putalvaṉ tāykkē*
wish-they(n.pl.) doing- self- son mother(dat.)$^{\text{ē}}$

f.sg.
KT 45.4 *maṟuvarum ciṟuvaṉ tāyē*
being-upset- little-he mother$^{\text{ē}}$

n.pl.
KT 193.6 *iṉṟu mullai mukai nāṟumē*
today jasmine bud they-are-fragrant$^{\text{ē}}$

n.sg. (or pey.)
KT 4.1 *nōm eṉ neñcē nōm eṉ neñcē*
aches my heart$^{\text{ē}}$ aches my heart$^{\text{ē}}$

KT 6.3f. *naṉam talai ulakamum tuñcum*
ōr yāṉ-maṉṟa tuñcātēṉē

wide place world$^{\text{um}}$ sleeping-
one I$^{\text{maṉṟa}}$ sleep-not-I$^{\text{ē}}$

7.a Verbal Roots for *Peyareccam*, (Infinitive, Verbal Noun, *Vinaiyeccam*)

often simply attributive (= pey. without temporal/aspectual impact?)
also clause-governing, but mostly no more than 3 elements: N^1-v.r.-N^2
[Jean-Luc's thesis: complementarity between marked and unmarked syntax]
[Chevillard 2007]
used with some auxiliaries like *taru*
used with *toṟum*: KT 9.5 *ōtal malku-toṟum* flood increase-ever

attributive without aspectual impact:	*ōṅku malai*	be-high- mountain
attributive for *pey*. p.a.:	*paku vāy*	split- mouth
attributive for *pey*.: KT 299.4	*puṇar kuṟi*	unite- sign

minimal clause for *pey*. p.a.

KT 79.2	*vaḷi poru neṭum ciṉai*	wind beat- long branch
KT 118.3	*palar puku vāyil*	many(h.) enter- door

minimal clause for pey.

KT 7.6	*vēy payil aḻuvam*	bamboo rustle- thicket
KT 150.3	*cāntu pular akalam*	sandal dry- chest

[clause-governing

KT 53.3 *vēlaṉ puṉainta veṟi ayar kaḷam-toṟum*
spear-he practised- Veṟi-dance immerse- floor-ever

KT 163.1-5

pūḻiyar
ciṟu talai veḷḷai tōṭu parant' aṉṉa
mīṉ ār kurukiṉ kāṉalam perun tuṟai
veḷ vī tāḻai tirai alai
naḷḷeṉ kaṅkulum

Pūḻiyar(h.)
little head goat(?) multitude spread like
fish become-full- wader(?)^{in} seashore-grove- big ghat
white blossom Tāḻai(-tree) wave slap-
deep(id.)- night^{um}]

for infinitive

KT 256.7	*nīr vilaṅku aḻutal*	water obstruct- crying
KT 70.5	*aṇai melliyaḷ*	touch- soft-she
KT 132.5	*tāy kāṇ viruppiṉ*	mother see yearning^{in}
KT 398.8	*kaṇ kaliḻ uku paṉi*	eye dim- shed- dew

for verbal noun (KT 344.7 *peṟal arum poruḷ* obtaining difficult wealth)

KT 88.3	*tuṉṉ' arum cāral*	approach- difficult slope
KT 304.3	*tāṅk' arum nīr curam*	endure- difficult water desert

for *viṉaiyeccam*

KT 86.2 *poṟai arum nōyoṭu pulamp' alai kalaṅki*
burden(?) difficult pain-with loneliness slap- stirred

KT 134.5 *kataḻ vīḻ aruvi* haste- descend- waterfall

?

KT 63.2 *cey viṉai* "the work to be done"
NA 24.8 *cey poruḷ* "the wealth to be made"

7.b Verbal Nouns

short form homonym to negative imperative

-al/(t)tal	verbal complement; attributive?; clause-governing?
- aliṉ/(t)taliṉ	temporal/conditional clauses: when, upon
- amai/-amaiyiṉ	perfective verbal noun (v.r.-p.a.-*amai-y-iṉ*)
- (a)tu	perf./imperf. n.sg. (*ceytatu/ceyvatu*) as finite form

noun: *uṇaṅkal* drying (= something dry as fish or corn)
paital suffering

nomen actionis
KT 353.3 *āṭutal iṉitē* playing pleasant-it$^{\bar{e}}$

verbal complement
KT 79.8 *akaṟal valluvōrē* departing able-he(h.)$^{\bar{e}}$

final especially if marked as dative
KT 100.7 *maṇattaṟk' ariya paṇai perum tōḷē*
uniting(dat.) difficult-they(n.pl.) bamboo big shoulder$^{\bar{e}}$

attributive
KT 79.3 *alaṅkal ulavai* swaying twig
KT 35.5 *taṇ varal vāṭai* cool coming north wind
KT 28.4 *alamaral acai vaḷi* whirling move- wind

[figura etymologica
KT 276.4 *aṟitalum aṟiyār* knowing^{um} know-not-they(h.)]

temporal clause
KT 355.1f. *peyal kaṇ maṟaittaliṉ vicumpu kāṇalaiyē*
nīr parant oḻukaliṉ nilam kāṇalaiyē

raining eye hiding$^{i\underline{n}}$ sky you-don't-see$^{\bar{e}}$

water spread flowing$^{\text{iṉ}}$ ground you-don't-see$^{\text{ē}}$

[other cases
KT 305.4 *kaḷaitalai avar āṟṟalarē* removing(acc.) he(h.) able-not-he(h.)$^{\text{ē}}$]

perfective verbal noun
NA 282.4 *kātalaṉ tantamai aṟiyātu* lover having-given know-not

KT 92.2,5 *paṟavai*
irai koṇṭamaiyiṉ viraiyumāl celavē

bird
food having-taken$^{\text{iṉ}}$ hurrying-$^{\text{āl}}$ going$^{\text{ē}}$

n.sg. verbal noun

NA 272.9
ampal mut′ ūr aṟintatu
nōy ākiṉṟatu nōyiṉum perit′-ē.

rumour old village knowing
pain became-it pain$^{\text{iṉum}}$ big-it$^{\text{ē}}$.

PārataVeṇpā 172.2f.
ceruvil ǀ *valiyār valiyār āy maṇ āḷvatu*

fight(loc.) ǀ strength-they(h.) strength-they(h.) become(abs.) earth ruling

9. The Aspectual System and the Moods

imperfective – perfective/inchoative aspect indicative [Deigner 1998]

'present'? – late (developed from auxiliary *kil* "to be able to"?)
the intermediate kil-forms in Kali, Kīḻkkaṇkku and bhakti

verbal classes and morphological causative (post-Caṅkam)

imperative (2nd person)

1. verbal root	KT 11.4 *eḻu*	rise!	
pl: v.r. + -īr	Tēv. 2.2.8 *colīr*	speak!	post-Caṅkam
2. *-m-ō/-ē/ena*	KT 2.2 *moḻimō*	speak!	
	KT 273.8 *teḷimē*	let it be clear/understand!	
3. *-miṉ*	KT 184.2 *ōmpumiṉ*	beware!	
-īmiṉ	Cilap. 21.40 *kēṭṭīmiṉ*	listen!	(rare and late)
4. *-mati*	KT 19.3 *aḷimati*	despair!	
5. *-āy*	KT 390.1 *kēḷāy*	hear!	(hom. to neg. 2.sg.)
6. v.r. + *-um*	*ceyyum*	do!	post-Caṅkam

note: *-kaḷ(ē)* may be added to type 1b and 3: *uraiyīrkaḷ* (TVM 9.7.3)
arimiṉkaḷē (PK 201.4)

[p.a.: NA 321.8 *ceṉṟika* go!
NA 221.12 *vantīka* come!]

neg.: 1. v.r.-*al* KT 179.3 *cellal* hom. to verbal noun
2. neg.stem-*īm(-ō/-ē/eṉa)* KT 390.2 *cellātīmō* don't-go!
3. v.r.+-*ēl* TVM 10.3.8 *pōkēl* (late old Tamil)
[4. v.r.+*al+miṉ* Cīv. 799.4 *tuṉṉaṉmiṉ* don't approach!]

note: in a transitional phase -*ēl* can be added to a finite form:
collutumēl (PK 297.1)

optative (all persons)

1. *-iya*	KT 19.3 *vāḻiya*	may-live	(hom. to inf.)
2. *-iyar*	KT 169.2 *iṟīiyarō*	may-break[ō]	(hom. to inf.)

[? *-iyam* TV 55.2 *uraikkiyam* we will tell?]

neg. opt.
(v.r.-*al-mār* 3.h.? NA 64.13 *kāṇaṉmār* may-they-not-see)

optative?: verbal root-p.a.-*iciṉ*
used predominantly for 1^{st} and 2^{nd}, but occasionally also for 3^{rd} person

KT 63.2	*uraitticiṉ neñcē*	speak(opt.) heart$^{\bar{e}}$
KT 216.3f.	*yāṉē ... paṭar kūrnticiṉē*	I$^{\bar{e}}$ ... affliction I-have-abundance$^{\bar{e}}$

subjunctive (merging into the "modern" optative in -ka for all persons)
two incomplete, but complementary paradigms
[Chevillard 1991]

1.sg.	*-ku/kku*	KT 25.2 *yāṉ evaṉ ceykō* I what can-do$^{\bar{o}}$
2.sg.	*-ti/tti*	KT 63.4 *emmai uyttiyō ... neñcē*
	[*-i* formula: *vāḻi tōḻi*	live, friend! cf. āḻi TVM 1.4.10!] us(acc.) you-will-send$^{\bar{o}}$ ... heart$^{\bar{e}}$
3.sg.	*-ka*	KT 111.5f. *nāṭaṉ* ǀ *vallē varuka* land-he ǀ strongly he-may-come
1.pl.	*-kam, -kum, -tum*	KT 14.6 *nāṇukam ciṟitē* we-will-be-ashamed little-it$^{\bar{e}}$
		KT 163.5 *kēṭkum niṉ kuralē* we-can-hear your- voice$^{\bar{e}}$
		KT 40.3 *evvaḻi aṟitum* what- whay we-can-know
2.pl.	*-tir*	KT 268.1 *cēṟirō* you-will-go$^{\bar{o}}$
3.pl.	*-ka*	KT 170.1 *palarum kūṟuka* many(h.)^{um} they-may-talk
neg.:	v.r.*-al-ka* (= *-aṟka*)	KT 198.8 *varaṟka-tilla* may-not-come^{tilla}
	v.r.*-ā-ti*	AiAi 42.4 *citaiyāti* may you not waste

"modern" opt. forms

KT 14.2f. *cil moḻi arivaiyai* few word girl(acc.)
peṟuka-tillamma yāṉē may-obtain^{tillamma} I$^{\bar{e}}$

KT 23.3 *akaval makaḷē pāṭuka pāṭṭē* Akaval woman$^{\bar{e}}$ may-sing song$^{\bar{e}}$

10. Coordination and Questions

-um (and) enclitic, coordinates not only nouns and clauses, but also sentences
-ē and interrogative pronoun
-ō (question of evaluation)
-kol (question of information)
kollō (rhetorical question)
-ē interrogative particle in bhakti texts

simple coordination

KT 17.1-4 *mā e<u>n</u>a maṭalum ūrpa pū e<u>n</u>a*
kuvi mukiḻ erukkam kaṇṇiyum cūṭupa
maṟuki<u>n</u> ārkkavum paṭupa
piṟitum ākupa kāmam kāḻkkoḷi<u>n</u>ē

horse say Palmyra-stem^{um} they-mount flower say
heap- bud yarcum- chaplet^{um} they-wear
street^{in} shout^{um} they-happen
other-it^{um} they-become desire coming-to-a-climax-if^{ē}

KT 31.4,6 *yā<u>n</u>um ōr āṭukaḷam makaḷē ...*
pīṭu keḻu kuricilum ōr āṭukaḷam maka<u>n</u>ē

I^{um} one dance- floor daughter^{ē} ...
excellence have- lord^{um} one dance- floor son^{ē}

KT 51.3-6 *cērppa<u>n</u>ai*
yā<u>n</u>um kātale<u>n</u> yāyum na<u>n</u>i veyyaḷ
entaiyum koṭīiyar vēṇṭum
ampal ūrum avanoṭu moḻimē

coast-he(acc.)
I^{um} love-I my-mother^{um} abundant hot-she
my-father^{um} give is-necessary/want(hab.fut.)
calumny village^{um} he-with speaking-^{ē}

KT 113.1f. *ūrkkum aṇittē poykai poykaikku*
cēyttum a<u>n</u>ṟē ciṟu kā<u>n</u> yāṟē

village(dat.)^{um} close-it^{ē} pond pond(dat.)
distance-it^{um} is-not-so^{ē} little forest river^{ē}

-um only on the second member

KT 62.4f. *nallōḷ mē<u>n</u>i*
muṟiyi<u>n</u>um vāyvatu muyaṅkaṟkum i<u>n</u>itē

good-she body
shoot^{inum} it-surpasses embracing(dat.)^{um} pleasant-it^{ē}

KT 74.2f.,5 *ku<u>n</u><u>r</u>am nāṭa<u>n</u>*
yām ta<u>n</u> paṭarntamai a<u>r</u>iyā<u>n</u> tā<u>n</u>um ...
cāyi<u>n</u>a<u>n</u> e<u>n</u>pa

hill land-he
we self- thought-we(acc.) he-doesn't-know self^{um} ...
he-was-emaciated they-say

asyndetic coordination
KT 161.1f.,4 *po<u>l</u>utum el i<u>n</u><u>r</u>u peyalum ōvātu*
ka<u>l</u>utu kaṇ pa<u>n</u>ippa vīcum ata<u>n</u><u>r</u>alai ...
a<u>n</u><u>n</u>ā e<u>n</u><u>n</u>um a<u>n</u><u>n</u>aiyum a<u>n</u><u>n</u>ō

time^{um} light is-not raining^{um} stop-not-it
demon eye shiver throwing- that(obl.+loc.) ...
mother(voc.) saying- mother^{um} alas!

interrogative pronoun

KT 158.6	*i<u>k</u>t' eva<u>n</u>ē*	this what^{ē}
KT 18.3	*yār a<u>k</u>t' a<u>r</u>intici<u>n</u>ōrē*	who that known-they(h.)^{ē}

int.pron. + focalisation
KT 140.4f. *evvam* trouble
yāṅk' a<u>r</u>inta<u>n</u><u>r</u>' i a<u>l</u>uṅkal ūrē what it-knew this- noise village^{ē}

-kol

KT 28.1	*muṭṭuvē<u>n</u>kol tākkuvē<u>n</u>kol*	I-attack^{kol} I-strike-against^{kol}

KT 177.4f. *i<u>n</u><u>r</u>' avar* today he(h.)
varuvarkol vā<u>l</u>i tō<u>l</u>i he-comes(h.)^{kol} live friend

emphasis

KT 5.1	*atu-kol tō<u>l</u>i kāma nōyē*	that^{kol} friend desire pain^{ē}

-ō
KT 160.6 *i<u>k</u>tō tō<u>l</u>i nam kātalar varaivē*
this^{ō} friend our- lover(h.) marriage^{ē}

KT 36.6 *nōyō tō<u>l</u>i ni<u>n</u>vayi<u>n</u>ā<u>n</u>ē*

pain$^{\bar{o}}$ friend your-side(loc.)$^{\bar{e}}$

KT 93.2f. *avar namakk'*
a<u>ṉṉ</u>aiyum atta<u>ṉ</u>um allarō tō<u>ḻ</u>i

he(h.) us(dat.)
mother^{um} father^{um} is-not-so(h.)$^{\bar{o}}$ friend

focalisation
KT 2.4f. *arivai kūntaliṉ*
naṟiyavum uḷavō nī aṟiyum pūvē

young-woman tresses$^{i\underline{n}}$
fragrant-they(n.pl.)^{um} they-are(n.pl.)$^{\bar{o}}$ you knowing- flower$^{\bar{e}}$

either-or
KT 142.2f. *pūm kaṇ pētai*
tāṉ aṟintaṉaḷō ilaḷō

flower eye innocence
self she-knew$^{\bar{o}}$ not-she$^{\bar{o}}$

kollō
KT 16.1 *uḷḷār-kollō tōḻi* remember-not-he(h.)$^{koll\bar{o}}$

KT 279.4 *itu poḻut' ākavum vārār-kollō*
this time become(inf.)^{um} come-not-he(h.)$^{koll\bar{o}}$

KT 180.5 *eytiṉar-kollō poruḷē* he-obtained$^{koll\bar{o}}$ wealth$^{\bar{e}}$

11. Embedded Clauses

the rule of one finite verb per sentence and its exceptions: double verb form, insertion, embedding [Steever 1988, 1993]
eṉ (eṉ, eṉa, eṉṟu, eṉṟa, finite forms, verba dicendi: direct speech, “*iti*”)
āku (ā, āki/āy, āka, āya/ākiya: attribution, “when”, “since”, “that”)
pōl (*pōl, pōṉṟu, pōla, pōṉṟa, pōlum* comparative clause)

direct speech(/thought)

KT 82.2 *aḻāal eṉṟu nam aḻuta kaṇ tuṭaippār*
don't-cry said our- cried- eye wipe-he(h.)

KT 141.1-3 *vaḷai vāy ciṟu kiḷi viḷai tiṉai kaṭīiyar*
celk(a) eṉṟōḷē aṉṉai eṉa nī
colliṉ evaṉō tōḻi

bangle mouth little parakeet ripen- millet chase(inf.)
may-go said-she$^{\text{ē}}$ mother say(inf.) you
say-if what$^{\text{ō}}$ friend

KT 187.5 *valiyaṉ eṉṉātu meliyum eṉ neñcē*
hard-he say-not softening- my- heart$^{\text{ē}}$

other verbum dicendi

KT 148.6 *kaṉavō maṟṟ' itu viṉavuval yāṉē* dream$^{\text{ōmaṟṟu}}$ this I-ask I$^{\text{ē}}$

“*iti*”

KT 17.1f. *mā eṉa maṭalum ūrpa. pū eṉa*
kuvi mukiḻ erukkam kaṇṇiyum cūṭupa

horse say Palmyra-stem$^{\text{um}}$ they-mount flower say
heap- bud yarcum- chaplet$^{\text{um}}$ they-wear

[enumeration

KT 32.1-3 *kālaiyum pakalum kai aṟu mālaiyum*
ūr tuñc(u) yāmamum viṭiyalum eṉṟ' i
poḻut' iṭai teriyiṉ poyyē kāmam

morning$^{\text{um}}$ midday$^{\text{um}}$ action cease- evening$^{\text{um}}$
village sleep- midnight$^{\text{um}}$ dawn$^{\text{um}}$ said this-
time-of-day between distinguish-if lie$^{\text{ē}}$ desire]

when

KT 265.7f. *yāṉ taṉakk′ uraittaṉeṉ āka*
tāṉ nāṇiṉaṉ

I self(dat.) I-told become(inf.)
self he-was-ashamed

KT 172.3f. *emiyam āka īṅku tuṟantōr*
tamiyar āka iṉiyar-kollō

our-we become(inf.) here abandoned-he(h.)
alone-he(h.) become(inf.) pleasant-he(h.)$^{\text{kollō}}$

"since" (~ apposition)

NA 215.8f. *iṉṟu nī ivaṇai āki emmoṭu*
taṅkiṉ evaṉō teyya

today you here-you become(abs.) us-with
stay-if what$^{\text{ō teyya}}$

subject change

KT 329.5,7 *payil iruḷ naṭunāḷ tuyil arit′ āki ...*
nal malar maḻai kaṇiṟk′ eḷiyavāl paṉiyē

rustle- darkness midnight sleep difficult-it become(abs.) ...
good blossom rain eye(dat.) easy-they(n.pl.)$^{\text{āl}}$ dew$^{\text{ē}}$

attribution (direct)

KT 181.1,7 *itu-maṟṟ′ evaṉō tōḻi ...*
peru mutu peṇṭirēm ākiya namakkē

this$^{\text{maṟṟu}}$ what$^{\text{ō}}$ friend ...
big old women-we become(p.)- us(dat.)$^{\text{ē}}$

attribution (indirect)

KT 178.5-7 *yām numakk′*
ariyam ākiya kālai
periya nōṉṟaṉir.

we you(dat.pl.)
difficult-we become(p.)- time
big-they(n.pl) you-suffered(pl.).

“that”

KT 386.4-6 *mālai*
nilam parant′ an̲n̲a pun̲kaṇoṭu
pulamp′ uṭaitt′ ākutal ar̲iyēn̲ yān̲ē

evening
ground spread like sorrow-with
loneliness possess-it becoming I-don't-know I[ē]

pōl

KT 147.3f. *nuṇ pūṇ maṭantaiyai tantōy pōla*
in̲ tuyil eṭupputi kan̲avē

fine ornament girl(acc.) given-you be-similar
pleasant sleep you-arouse(sub.) dream[ē]

12. Conditional (factual and hypothetical), Concessive, Causal clauses

verbal root + -*iṉ* (strong verbs + -*ppiṉ*)	conditional
finite verb i.a./p.a. + *āyiṉ* (embedding)	
finite verb i.a./p.a. + *eṉiṉ* (embedding)	later
finite verb i.a./p.a. + *ākil* (embedding)	later (bhakti)
verbal root + -*il* (strong verbs in *pp*il)	transitional
(finite form + -*ēl*/-*āl*)	transitional
(abs. + -*ēl*)	transitional
(abs. + -*āl* PN)	post-Caṅkam up to modern

āyiṉum/(inf. + *um*)/(abs. + *um*)	concessive
verbal root + -*v/p/pp -iṉum*	
finite verb i.a./p.a. + *āyiṉum* (embedding)	
finite verb i.a./p.a. + *eṉiṉum* (embedding)	later
finite verb i.a./p.a. + *ākilum* (embedding)	later (bhakti)
verbal root + -*v/p/pp-ilum*	transitional
abs. + -*ālum*	post-Caṅkam up to modern

ākaliṉ/ātaliṉ	causal clause
āṉāl	causal clause

impersonal

KT 102.1 *uḷḷiṉ uḷḷam vēmē* remember-if inside burn(hab.fut.)$^{\text{ē}}$

unmarked for subject

KT 280.4f. *oru nāḷ puṇara puṇariṉ*
arai nāḷ vāḻkkaiyum vēṇṭaleṉ yāṉē

one day unite(inf.) unite-if
half day life$^{\text{um}}$ I-need-not I$^{\text{ē}}$

marked for subject

KT 316.2f. *aṉṉai aṟiyiṉ* | *uḷeṉō vāḻi tōḻi*
mother know-if | be-I$^{\text{ō}}$ live(ipt.) friend

KT 174.5f. *poruḷvayiṉ pirivār āyiṉ i ulakattu*
poruḷē-maṉṟa poruḷē

wealth-for he-separates(h.) if this- world-
wealth$^{\text{ē maṉṟa}}$ wealth$^{\text{ē}}$

hypothetical

KT 148.5f. *kār aṉṟ' eṉṟi āyiṉ*
kaṉavō maṟṟ' itu viṉavuval yāṉē

rainy-season is-not-so you-say(sub.) if
dream[ō maṟṟu] this I-ask I[ē]

past tense and hypothetical

KT 196.1f. *vēmpiṉ paim kāy eṉ tōḻi tariṉē*
tēm pūm kaṭṭi eṉṟaṉir. iṉiyē ...
KT 196.4f. *taii tiṅkaḷ taṇṇiya tariṉum*
veyya uvarkkum eṉṟaṉir

Neem-tree$^{\text{iṉ}}$ fresh unripe-fruit my- friend give-if$^{\text{ē}}$
honey flower sweets you-said(pl.) now$^{\text{ē}}$ ...
Tai moon cool-they(n.pl.) give-if-even
hot-they(n.pl.) tasting-salty- you-said(pl.)

KT 274.8 *aṇi mulai ākam uḷkiṉam celiṉē*
adorn- breast bosom we-remembered go-if$^{\text{ē}}$

subject clause

KT 98.1-3 *avar | tuṉṉa ceṉṟu ceppunar peṟiṉē*
naṉṟu-maṉ vāḻi tōḻi

he(h.) | approach(inf.) gone saying-he(h.) obtain-if$^{\text{ē}}$
good-it$^{\text{maṉ}}$ live friend

eṉiṉ

NA 334.8f. *miṉṉu vaci viḷakkattu varum eṉiṉ*
eṉ-ō tōḻi nam iṉ uyir nilai-ē

lightning split lamp- coming- say-if
what$^{\text{ō}}$ friend our- pleasant life state$^{\text{ē}}$

-ēl

AimAi 43.3f. *taṇ cērppaṉ tār akalam nalkumēl*
āḻiyāl kāṇāmō yām

cool coast-he garland chest granting$^{\text{ēl}}$
ocean(inst.) see-not-we$^{\text{ō}}$ we [topos: the ocean as witness]

AinAi 9.2 *uruki uṭaṉ aḻiya vēṇṭā teritiyēl*
melted-with be-desolate(inf.) need-not(n.sg.) understand
-you(sub)$^{\text{ēl}}$

-āl

PN 390.24f. *nāṭaṉ*
kaṇṭāl koṇṭum avaṉ tiruntu aṭi vāḻtti

land-he
seen-if taken$^{\text{um}}$ he be-perfect- foot praised

concessive

KT 210.4,6 *eḻu kalatt' ēntiṉum ciṟit' eṉ tōḻi ...*
viruntu vara karainta kākkaiyatu paliyē

seven pot- receive-if-even little-it my- friend ...
guest come(inf.) cried- crow(gen.) offering[ē]∞

KT 42.1,4 *kāmam oḻivat' āyiṉum ...*
em toṭarpum tēyumō

desire ceasing-it if-even ...
our- attachment[um] dwindling-[ō]

causal clause

NA 99.9f. *piṭavum koṉṟaiyum kōṭalum*
maṭava ākaliṉ malarntaṉa palavē

large-flowered-jasmine[um] Laburnum[um] white-Malabar-lily[um]
ignorant-they(n.pl.) because they-flowered(n.pl.) many(n.pl.)[ē]

13. Negation

the two verbs of negation: *al* "not to be so" and *il* "not to be"
(complementary to *iru* "to be present" and *uḷ* "to exist")

KT 25.1	*yārum illai*	who[um] is-not	up to modern Tamil

al as an infix	v.r. -*al*-pron.suff.	
il as an infix	v.r.-p.a.-*il*-pron.suff.	post-Caṅkam
zero infix	v.r.-pron.suff.	
negative stem	v.r.-(*y/v*)-*āt(u)*-pron.suff.	
double verb forms	positive form + negative form	

-al

KT 290.2 *aṟiyalarkollō* know-not-they(h.)[kollō]

-il (seems to be perfectly normal from *bhakti* onwards)

[KT 113.3f. *irai tēr veḷ kuruk' allat(u) yāvatum*
tuṉṉal pōkiṉṟāl poḻilē

prey search- white wader(?) except anything
approaching it-doesn't-go[āl] grove[ē]]

Pari. 9.25 *āyvantilar* research-not-they(h.)

zero
KT 200.4 *maṟantōr maṉṟa maṟavām nāmē*
forgot-he(h.)[maṉṟa] we-don't-forget we[ē]

neg. stem, long (more often neg. part.n.)
KT 6.4 *ōr yāṉ maṉṟa tuñcātēṉē* one I[maṉṟa] sleep-not-I[ē]

neg. stem, short
KT 261.5f. *eṉ kaṇ* my- eye
tuñcā vāḻi tōḻi sleep-not-they(n.pl.) live(ipt.) friend

Special Constructions with *il*

negation of action (v.n.)
KT 168.6 *maṇattalum taṇattalum ilamē* uniting[um] departing[um] not-we[ē]

negation of quality
NA 143.6 *vaḻu ilaḷ-amma tāṉē* fault not-she[amma] self[ē]

negation of fact
NA 193.5 *tīt' aṟintaṉṟō ilamē* evil-it it-knew[ō] not-we[ē]

nominalisation
KT 93.4 *pulavi aḵt' evaṉō aṉp' ilam-kaṭaiyē*
sulking that what[ō] love not-we(loc.)[ē]

KT 115.6 *nal malai nāṭa niṉ alat' ilaḷē*
good mountain land-he(voc.) you- not-so-it not-she[ē]

impersonal construction with ilam?
TV 31.1 *tūt' eṉṟ' icaittāl icaiyilam*
messenger said speak-if speak-absence

confusion between *il* and *al* (different interpretations possible)
NA 138.11 *aḻuṅkal mutu ūr aṟintaṉṟō iṉṟē*
noise old village it-knew[ō] not-it[ē]

double verb forms with *al*

negation of pron.n.
KT 47.4 *nallai allai neṭu veḷ nilavē*
good-you not-so-you long white moonlight[ē]

past tense negation
AN 98.6 *aṟintaṉaḷ allaḷ* she-knew not-so-she

verbal negation + neg. v.n.
NA 376.11f. *vaṟum puṉam kāval viṭāmai*
aṟintaṉir allirō aṟaṉ il yāyē

poor field guarding letting-not
you-knew(pl.) not-so-you(pl.)$^{\bar{o}}$ duty- not- mother$^{\bar{e}}$

modal
KT 224.6 *tuyar poṟukk' allēṉ* misery I-bear(sub.) I-not-so

triple ambiguity
KT 52.5 *parintaṉeṉ allaṉō* I-sympathized not-so-I$^{\bar{o}}$/no-so-he$^{\bar{o}}$

double negation
KT 244.3 *kēḷēm allēm. kēṭṭaṉam peruma*
hear-not-we not-so-we we-heard great-one(voc.)

15. Double Verb Forms and Auxiliaries

insertions: verba dicendi/sentiendi, opt./ipt.
double verb forms (*cel*; later also *varu*)
iru/uḷ/āku (as double verb form: emphatic existence/presence)
muṟṟeccam

insertion of verbum dicendi
KT 12.4 *kavalaitt' eṉpa avar ceṉṟa āṟē*
crossroad-it they-say he(h.)- gone- way$^{\bar{e}}$

insertion of optative
KT 19.3 *iṉaimati vāḻiya neñcē*
despair(ipt.) may-live heart$^{\bar{e}}$

summons(?)
KT 198.5 *paṭu kiḷi kaṭikam cēṟum*
happen- parakeet we-chase we-go

emphatic presence
NA 128.3 *eṉakku nī uraiyāy āyiṉai*
me(dat.) you talk-not-you you-became

muṟṟ. with aspectual impact
KT 275.2 *kaṇṭaṉam varukam ceṉmō tōḻi* we-saw we-come go! friend

AN 398.20f. *pal pūm kāṉattu alki iṉṟu ivaṇ*
cērntaṉai celiṉē citaikuvatu uṇṭō

many flower forest- abided today here
you-joined go-if$^{\bar{e}}$ being-wasted-it it-is$^{\bar{o}}$

muṟṟ. inexplicable
NA 373.2-4 *tantai*
mai paṭu māl varai pāṭiṉaḷ koṭicci
aivaṉam veḷ nel kuṟūum nāṭaṉ

father
collyrium happen- big mountain she-sang creeper-she
wild-rice white rice pounding- land-he

prefixes ("preposition": *mēl, kīḻ, muṉ, piṉ, uṭaṉ, uḷ, etir, veḷi; noun: talai, kai, puṟam): etir-koḷ, talai-pirital, puṟam-tā*

productive verbs, with noun prefix (x *uṟu* = to do/be subjected to x): *iṉp'-uṟu; kām-uṟu* (contracted and lexicalised form)

[the phenomenon of spontaneous noun incorporation:
Kulacēkaran̲ 1.4.1 *māvin̲ai vāy-piḷantu* "mouth-ripping the horse"]

paṭu: inf. + *paṭutal* — passive; stray occurrences already Caṅkam
koḷ abs. + *koḷ-ṭal* — reflexive (stray occurrences already in Caṅkam)
pōku: abs. + *pōkutal* — semantic differentiation, involuntary conclusion (rare and inconclusive cases in Caṅkam)
nil: abs. in *–ā* + *nil-tal* — continuous form (predecessor: NA 242.10 *tēṭūu nin̲r̲a iralai ēr̲ē*
[*oḻuku, iru* as less successful predecessors of nil for continuous; occasionally to be found from Caṅkam onwards]

taru: v.r. + *tarutal* — an action outside the control of the speaker; since Caṅkam, prevailing, though ignored
uṟai: abs. + *uṟaital* — remaining in a stable state; only Caṅkam
amai: abs. + *amaital* — reaching a new stability; only Caṅkam
varu: v.r. + *varutal* — starting an action; only Caṅkam?
ī: abs. + *ītal* — benefictive: already frozen into imperative; only Caṅkam (JLC)
aruḷ: abs. + *aruḷ-ṭal* — general benefictive post-Caṅkam (gods!)
oḻi abs. + *oḻital* — an action brought to conclusion/fruition (bhakti)
(v)iṭu abs. + *(v)iṭutal* — completion of an action

passive
KT 288.5 *in̲it' en̲a paṭūum puttēḷ nāṭē*
pleasant-it say(inf.) happening- god land[ē]

[passive with *uṟu* instead of *paṭu*
cf. Cilap. 12.13.1 *cīṟ' ūr oru makan̲ān̲ nirai koḷḷa uṟṟa kālai*
little village son(inst.) herd take(inf.) had-time]

taru (sudden/uncontrollable inset of action/happening)
KT 95.1 *māl varai iḻi tarum tū veḷ aruvi*
big mountain fall- giving- purity white waterfall

uṟai (remaining in a stable state)
KT 65.4 *vārāt' uṟaiyunar varal nacaii*
come-not staying-he(h.) coming longed-for

amai (reaching a new (stable?) state)
KT 137.2-4 *nin̲ tuṟant' amaikuven̲ āyin̲ en̲ tuṟant'*
iravalar vārā vaikal
pala ākuka

you- abandoned I-become-quiet if my- abandoned
beggar(h.) come-not day

many(n.pl.) may-become

varu (inceptive; onset of an action)

NA 298.5 *arum curam kavalai añcu varum naṉam talai*
difficult desert crossroad fear- coming- wide place

Syntax

<u>**16.** Particles and word-order:-*ē* as a full stop and as rhetorical mark</u>

The observation of syntactical patterns reveals the distribution of particles: main sentences, not subordinate phrases. [Wilden 2006]
[These are patterns fairly strictly observed (though not without deviation) in the early Caṅkam texts. Afterwards things start to desintegrate: already in the AiN you find things that would not be possible in the KT, and by the time of the Kuṟaḷ confusion is complete. Mark: this is also true of the *sūtra*-s in the theoretical texts (why?)]
main sentence: verbal and nominal clauses, exclamation/address
subordinate clause: abs., inf., *pey.*, v.r., cond., conc., caus., comparison, embedded construction (which can contain, rather obviously, other main sentences marked by particles, though rarely by -*ē*)
exceptions: unambiguous verb forms like imperative/optative, negative (problem!), double verb form; next sentence beginning with predicate; the end of a poem(!)
-*ē* can be accompanied or substituted by a vocative.
[Stylistic exceptions: the aphoristic prelude is usually not marked by a particle.]

normal word-order:	S O P(= f.v./pr.n.)-*ē*
postposition of subject:	O P S-*ē*
postposition of object:	S P O-*ē*
postposition of adverb:	S O P adv.-*ē*

forms of focalisation

anteposition of subject:	S-*ē* O P(-*ē*)
anteposition of object:	[O-*ē* P S] rare
anteposition of adverb:	[adv.-*ē* O P S] rare
anteposition of predicate (closed):	[O] P-*ē* S-*ē*
anteposition of predicate (open-ended):	[O] P-*ē* S
address:	N-*ē*

S O P-*ē* verbal sentence

KT 13.3f.	... *nāṭaṉ*	... land-he
	nōy tantaṉaṉē tōḻi	pain he-gave^{ē} friend

nominal sentence

KT 35.5 *vāṭaiyum pirinticiṉōrkk' aḻalē*
north wind^{um} separated-they(dat.) fire^{ē}

unmarked ipt.

KT 2.1f. *tumpi*
kāmam ceppātu kaṇṭatu moḻimō

bee
desire say-not seen-it speak

unmarked double verb form

KT 80.3 *yām aḵt' ayarkam cēṟum* we that immerse(1.pl.sub.) go(1.pl.sub.)

O P S-*ē*

KT 170.4f. *malai keḻu nāṭaṉ kēṇmai*
talaipōkāmai naṟk' aṟintaṉeṉ yāṉē

mountain have- land-he intimacy
not-having-come-to-an-end well I-knew I$^{\bar{e}}$

S P O-*ē*

KT 50.5 *pulamp' aṇintaṉṟ' avar maṇanta tōḷē*
loneliness it-adorned he(h.) united- shoulder$^{\bar{e}}$

S O P adv.-*ē*

KT 14.6 *yām nāṇukam ciṟitē* we be-ashamed(1.pl.sub.) small-it$^{\bar{e}}$

S-*ē* O P-*ē* (emphasis)

KT 24.5f. ... *koṭiyōr nāvē* ... cruel-they tongue$^{\bar{e}}$
kātalar akala kalleṉṟavvē lover(h.) depart(inf.) 'kal'-said(n.pl.)$^{\bar{e}}$

[O-*ē* P S

KT 73.1 *makiḻnaṉ mārpē veyyaiyāl nī* delight-he chest$^{\bar{e}}$ hot-you$^{\bar{a}l}$ you]

[adv.-*ē* P S

KT 140.3 *curaṉē ceṉṟaṉar kātalar* desert$^{\bar{e}}$ he-went(h.) lover(h.)]

P-*ē* S-*ē* (strong emphasis)

KT 112.4f. *aṟṟē*
kaṇṭiciṉ tōḻi avar uṇṭa eṉ nalaṉē

thus-it$^{\bar{e}}$
see(ipt.) friend he(h.) eaten- my- innocence$^{\bar{e}}$

P-*ē* S (the sentence goes on: coordination)

KT 113.1f. *ūrkkum aṇittē poykai poykaikku*
cēyttum aṉṟē ciṟu kāṉ yāṟē

village(dat.)^{um} close-it$^{\bar{e}}$ pond pond(dat.)
distance-it^{um} is-not-so$^{\bar{e}}$ little forest river$^{\bar{e}}$

P-*ē* S (rhetoric device: S is part of the next sentence too)

KT 92.3,5 *aḷiya tāmē koṭum ciṟai paṟavai* ...
irai koṇṭamaiyiṉ viraiyumāl celavē

love/pity-they(n.pl.) self(pl.)[ē] curved wing bird(?) ...
food having-taken[iṉ] hurrying-[āl] going[ē]

address

KT 23.1-3 *akaval makaḷē akaval makaḷē*
maṉavu kōpp' aṉṉa nal neṭum kūntal
akaval makaḷē

Akaval woman[ē] Akaval woman[ē]
chank-bead string like good long tresses
Akaval woman[ē]

[exception: -*ē* in a subordinate phrase

KT 52 *cūr nacaint' aṉaiyai āy naṭuṅkal kaṇṭē*
fearful-spirit longed-for thus-you become(abs.) trembling seen[ē]

17. Modal particles

Particles are employed too to achieve modal modulation. Usually they work in coordination with *-ē*. We have already seen the question marks *-kol, -ō* and *kollō*. Some of the more important ones are:
maṉ/maṉṟa/-āl (assertive with shades of evaluation)
amma (lament)
tilla (wish)
teyya (admonition)
mātō (particle of emphatically doubtful (rhetorical) question) [render by negative]
maṟṟu adversative/contrastive? (change of subject, topic/perspective)

[unexplained particles: *attai* (2/25 PN), *arō* (10), *-ār* (?), *koṉ-* (22), *māḷa* (3), *yāḻa* (27)]

Syntactical patterns:

-maṉ (positive certainty) : S PrN(/f.v.)-**maṉ**
postpositions marked by *-ē*; combinations: *maṉṟilla, maṉṉō, maṉṉē*

maṉṟa (negative certainty): PrN(f.v.) *maṉṟa* S-*ē*
P *maṉṟa*
combinations: *maṉṟamma*

-āl (surprising fact): [O] P-*āl* S-*ē*
focalisation: [S] P-*āl* O-*ē*; [S] P-*āl* adv.-*ē*; S-*ē* O P-*āl*; O-*ē* P-*āl*
combinations: *-āl amma, -āl tilla*

amma (“alas”): P *amma* S-*ē*(.)
focalisation in combination: P *maṉṟ' amma* S-*ē*; P-*āl amma* S
call for attention: *amma vāḻi tōḻi* (?)

tilla: P(opt./sub.) *tilla* ("would that ...!" – desire)
P(opt./sub.) *tillamma* ("if only ...!" – irrealis)

teyya (admonition; “please”): S O P-*ē*/-*ō* *teyya*

mātō: S O P-*mātō*

maṟṟu: S-*maṟṟu; maṟṟu*-S (not restricted to main sentence; also in a period; position more fluid)
combinations: P-*maṟṟē*, P-*ōmāṟṟē*, P-*maṟṟilla*

Examples:

maṉ

KT 98.2f. ... *ceppunar peṟiṉē*
naṉṟu-maṉ vāḻi tōḻi

... saying-he(h.) obtain-if[ē]
good-it[maṉ] live friend

maṉṉē

KT 191.6f. *ōtiyum puṉaiyal*
emmum toṭāal eṉkuvem maṉṉē.

hair[um] don't-adorn
us[um] don't-touch we-say [maṉṉē]

maṉṉō

KT 229.4 *ēt' il ciṟu ceru uṟupa maṉṉō*
reason-not little quarrel they-have[maṉṉō]

maṉṟa

KT 35.1 *nāṇ ila maṉṟa em kaṇṇē*
shame not-they(n.pl.)[maṉṟa] our- eye[ē]

-āl

KT 120.2 *aritu vēṭṭaṉaiyāl neñcē*
difficult-it wanted-you[āl] heart[ē]

amma

KT 45.5 *teṟuvat' amma i tiṇai piṟattalē*
scorch-it[amma] family/gender being-born[ē]

tillamma

KT 56.4 *varuka tillamma tāṉē* may-come[tillamma] self[ē] (f.sg.)

tilla

KT 57.4 *uṭaṉ uyir pōkuka tilla* together life may-go[tilla] (1.pl.)

teyya

NA 215.8f. *iṉṟu nī ivaṇai āki emmoṭu*
taṅkiṉ evaṉō-teyya

today you here-you become(abs.) us-with
stay-if what[ō teyya]

mātō

KT 253.4 *nāḷ tuyar keṭa piṉ nīṭalar mātō*
day misery be-lost(inf.) after delay-not-he(h.)[mātō]

maṟṟu
KT 299.1 *itu maṟṟ' evaṉō tōḻi* this $^{\text{maṟṟu}}$ what$^{\text{ō}}$ friend

KT 12.5f. *atu maṟṟ' avalam koḷḷātu*
notumal kaḻaṟum i aḻuṅkal ūrē

that $^{\text{maṟṟu}}$ affliction take-not
indifference murmuring- this- noise village$^{\text{ē}}$

Supplement on *-ō*

syntactical pattern: S [O] P-*ō* (interrogative pronoun possible)
S-*ō* [O] P-*ē*
all types of postposition are possible ([O] P-*ō* S-*ē*, S P-*ō* O-*ē*, S [O] P-*ō* adv.-*ē*)
anteposition is rare

-*ō* in metrical patterns, often formulaic, mostly within the old stock of Akam/Puṟam formulae of mourning: *nōkō yāṉē*
-*ō* marking ipt./opt.(?): KT 169.2 *iṟīiyarō*

important: -*ō* as a particle of demarcation of topic

the transition from a question
KT 221.1 *avarō vārār* he(h.)$^{\text{ō}}$ come-not-he(h.)

"I for one."
KT 21.4f. *kār eṉa kūṟiṉum*
yāṉō tēṟēṉ. avar poy vaḻaṅkalarē

rainy-season say talking-if-even
I$^{\text{ō}}$ I-don't-believe he(h.) lie he-uses-not(h.)$^{\text{ē}}$.

18. Circular Construction

the -*ē* at the end of the poem is exempt from the rules of postposition:
nouns (subject/apposition, object, adverb)
infinite forms (infinitive, absolutive, conditional)
the "normal" worder can be restored by connecting poem end and poem beginning

traditional concept of *pūṭṭu vil* ("the drawn bow"): first attested in Nakkīraṉ on IA; *sūtra* in Naṉṉūl 415

nominal postposition
subject/subject apposition
KT 16.1,5 *uḷḷār kollō tōḻi ...*
am kāl kaḷḷiyaṅ kāṭ' iṟantōrē∞

remember-not-he(h.)$^{\text{kollō}}$ friend ...
pretty leg Kaḷḷi(-tree)- wilderness traversed-he(h.)$^{\text{ē}}$∞

object
KT 181.1,7 *itu maṟṟ' evaṉō tōḻi ...*
peru mutu peṇṭirēm ākiya namakkē∞

this$^{\text{maṟṟu}}$ what$^{\text{ō}}$ friend ...
big old women-we become(p.)- us(dat.)$^{\text{ē}}$∞

adverb
KT 85.1,6 *yāriṉum iṉiyaṉ pēr' aṉpiṉaṉē ...*
yāṇar ūraṉ pāṇaṉ vāyē∞

who$^{\text{iṉum}}$ pleasant-he big love-he$^{\text{ē}}$ ...
fertility village-he bard mouth$^{\text{ē}}$∞

infinite postposition
absolutive
KT 66.1,5 *maṭava maṉṟa taṭavu nilai koṉṟai ...*
vampa māriyai kār eṉa matittē∞

foolish-they(n.pl)$^{\text{maṉṟa}}$ breadth standing Laburnum(-tree) ...
new-they(n.pl.) shower(acc.) rainy-season say estimated$^{\text{ē}}$∞

infinitive

KT 157.1,4 *kukkū eṉṟatu kōḻi ...*
vāḷ pōl vaikaṟai vantaṉṟāl eṉavē∞

'kukkū' said-it fowl ...
sword similar dawn it-came$^{\bar{a}l}$ say(inf.)$^{\bar{e}}$∞

conditional

KT 245.2,6 *... nalam iḻantataṉiṉum naṉi iṉṉātē ...*
pallōr aṟiya parantu veḷipaṭiṉē∞

integrity lost-it$^{i\underline{n}um}$ abundant pleasant-not-it$^{\bar{e}}$ ...
many(h.) know(inf.) spread come-out-if$^{\bar{e}}$∞

stylistic types of circular construction:

1 (This is the most frequent and simple one.) The poem contains one single sentence where the head fits to the tail. (Or, occasionally, if more than one sentence then the end of the poem will fit to its first sentence.)

2 The poem contains more than one sentence (two, three, four) one central element of which, perhaps the (logical!) subject or an apposition to this subject, follows in postposition.
(As a subtype to this is to be considered a conditional postpositioned to the end, which is nevertheless valid for all preceding clauses.)

[Status of optical circular structure (what is postponed to the end cannot be counted, strictly speaking, grammatically as part of the first sentence of the poem, but of a subsequent sentence, although its presence is warranted in the beginning of the poem, too):

3 The part of the poem postpositioned to the end is, grammatically speaking, element of the immediately preceding sentence, but should, according to the normal word order, be read in front of it. It is also relevant to the sentence/s at the beginning of the poem.

4 The poem consists of grammatically and syntactically clear-cut and well-ordered sentences, which nevertheless seem to lean on one another, because, for example, the keyword for the understanding of the whole poem is its very last word.]

KT 1

cem kaḷam paṭam koṉṟ' avuṇar tēytta	red field happen(inf.) killed demon(h.) reduced-
cem kōl ampiṉ cem kōṭṭ(u) yāṉai	red stem arrow^{in} red horn elephant
kaḻal toṭi cēey kuṉṟam	anklet/loosen- bracelet redness hill
kuruti pūviṉ kulai kāntaṭṭē.	blood flower^{in} bunch Malabar-glory-lily-it^{e}.

19.a Formulae as syntactic matrices [Wilden 2006]

the range of the formulaic repertoire in Tamil poetry
Lord’s definition of a formula: a repetition under identical metrical conditions
the oral poetry thesis
formulae as signals: the interaction between bard and listener

formulaic attribution [Kailasapathy 1968, Vacek 2003]
formula – theme – system

KT 246.1	*ciṟu-veṇ kākkai*	small white crow
KT 103.3	*irai-tēr nārai*	prey search- heron(?)
KT 163.3	*mīṉ-ār kurukiṉ*	fish eat- heron(?)[in]

KT 16.5	*aṅ-kāṟ kaḷḷiyaṅ kāṭu*	pretty leg Kaḷḷi[am] wilderness
KT 67.5	*nilaṅ-kari kaḷḷiyaṅ kāṭu*	ground parch- K. w.
KT 216.2	*vāṭā vaḷḷiyaṅ kāṭu*	fade-not Vaḷḷi[am] w.
(KT 124.2	*ōmaiyam peruṅkāṭu*	– Ōmai[am] w.)

KT 15.5	*cēy-ilai veḷ-vēl viṭalaiyoṭu*	read leaf white spear warrior-with
KT 378.4	*cuṭar-vāy neṭu-vēl kālaiyoṭu*	glow- mouth long spear man-with

taṇṇan tuṟaivaṉ, mellam pulampaṉ, naṉmalai nāṭaṉ...
cool ghat-he, soft loneliness(?)-he, good mountain land-he...

employing formulae for structuring (and announcing) syntax
sensitive spots: poem end and poem beginning (*nōkō yāṉē* and *amma vāḻi tōḻi*)

poem end:

kāṭu "wilderness"[3]
curaṉ "waste land"[4]
iṟantōrē "he who traversed"
malai "mountains"[5]
kuṉṟu "hills"[6]

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[3] KT 16.5, 67.5, 216.2; AN 1.19, 25.22, 133.18, 151.15, 395.15; NA 14.11, 189.10.
[4] KT 211.7, 215.7, 260.8, 314.6; AN 141.29, 171.15, 201.18; NA 92.9, 274.9.
[5] KT 232.6, 253.8, 287.7, 285.8; AN 111.15, 155.16, 173.18, 185.13, 291.16, 247.13, 249.19, 313.17, 321.17, 347.16, 389.24.
[6] NA 18.10.

complementary to poem beginning/main sentence:

uḷḷārkollō tōḻi	"won't he remember, friend?"	(KT16.1,67.1, 232.1)[7]
yāṉṭuḷar kollō tōḻi	"where is he, friend?"	(KT 285.3)[8]
kēḷā rākuvar tōḻi	"he doesn't hear, friend"	(KT 253.1)
varuvarkol vāḻi tōḻi	"will he come, o friend?"	(KT 215.3, 260.4)[9]
vārār vāḻi tōḻi	"he hasn't come, oh friend"	(KT 314.4)
koṭiyar vāḻi tōḻi	"cruel [is] he, oh friend"	(KT 278.4)
eñciṉam vāḻi tōḻi	"we have left behind, oh friend"	(KT 211.3)

optical strategical points: penultimate with i.a. *peyareccam*
topical strategical points: *nāṭaṉ*

the relation between Akam and Puṟam as revealed by formulaic analysis:
warriors, women and trees
the repertoire of mourning

the distribution of one productive formula in the old anthologies:

person/text	PN	KT	NA	AN	AiN
aḻiyāṉ yāṉē	–	30.6, 293.8	152.9, 289.9	–	460.5
aḻiyai nīyē	228.5	–	(14.12)	383.14	–
aḻiyaṉ tāṉē	257.5	–	–	–	–
aḻiyaḷ tāṉē	143.7, 254.11, 293.6	–	(324.1), 352.12	(73.7), (118.4), 146.8, 153.4, (224.18), 287.3, 339.11, 373.19, 381.18	–
aḻitō tāṉē	5.8, 109.1, 111.1, 243.11	149.1, 212.4, 276.8, 395.7	101.6, 114.5	239.1	–
aḻiyam yāmē	–	–	368.10	–	–
aḻiyar tāmē	51.8, 52.8, 81.3, 237.8, 345.12	7.3	–	43.13, (78.12)	381.3
aḻiya tāmē	248.1	92.2	163.7	–	284.1, 455.3

[7] Cf. NA 92.1, 241.1.
[8] Cf. KT 195.3, 176.5, 325.4.
[9] Cf. KT 177.5.

19.b Stylistics: Simile and Inset; various types of poems

the inventory of speakers and listeners (poetic reality versus poetics)
dialogue structures (monologue as dialogue, interior monologue)

special types: messenger poem, aphoristic prelude, incorporation, poem without imagery

special type : a Puṟam/Akam poem
KT 258.2-7 *kāviri*

palar āṭu perum tuṟai marutoṭu piṇitta
ēntu kōṭṭ(u) yāṉai cēntaṉ tantai
ariyalam pukaviṉ am tōṭṭu vēṭṭai
niraiya oḷ vāḷ iḻaiyar perum makaṉ
aḻici ārkkāṭ' aṉṉa ivaḷ

Kāveri
many(h.) play- big ghat Arjuna-tree-with fettered-
erect- tooth- elephant Cēntaṉ father
toddy[am] food[in] pretty mass- hunt
place-in-a-row(inf.) bright sword attendant(h.) big son
Aḻici Ārkāṭu like she

incorporation poem
KT 227

pūṇ vaṉaint' aṉṉa polam cūṭṭu nēmi	ornament formed(abs.) like gold rim wheel
vāḷ mukam tumippa vaḷ itaḻ kuṟainta	sword face cut(inf.) abundance petal lacked-
kūḻai neytalum uṭaitt' ivaṇ	short blue-water-lilyum possess-it this-place
tērōṉ pōkiya kāṉalāṉē.	chariot-he gone- seashore-grove(loc.)ē.

Main types of poems (structuring the message via poetic technique):
simile
inset
evocation

rhetorical strategies: comparison particles – land-subclauses – allusion
a marked comparison announcing a surprising statement on the emotional situation
an integrated land-subclause signalling a conventional (symbolic) comment on the emotional situation that has to be decoded
entwining of thematic and figurative level without being explicit

simile

KT 290

kāmam tāṅkumati en̲pōr tām ak̲t'
ar̲iyalar-kollō an̲ai matukaiyar-kol
yām em kātalar kāṇēm āyin̲
cer̲i tun̲i perukiya neñcamoṭu peru nīr
kal poru cir̲u nurai pōla
mella mella il ākutumē.

desire endure(ipt.) saying-they(h.) self(pl.) that
know-not-they(h.)$^{\text{kollō}}$ such strength-they(h.)$^{\text{kol}}$
we our- lover we-don't-see if
dense disgust become-big- heart-with big water
stone dash- little foam be-similar
gently gently be-not- we-become$^{\text{ē}}$.

inset

KT 38

kān̲am maññai ar̲ai īn̲ muṭṭai
veyil āṭu mucuvin̲ kuruḷai uruṭṭum
kun̲r̲am nāṭan̲ kēṇmai en̲r̲um
nan̲r̲u-man̲ vāḻi tōḻi uṇ kaṇ
nīroṭ' or āṅku taṇappa
uḷḷāt' ār̲r̲al valluvōrkkē.

forest peacock rock bring-forth egg
sunlight play- langur$^{\text{in̲}}$ young-one rolling-
hill land-he intimacy always
good-it$^{\text{man̲}}$ live friend collyrium eye
water-with one like depart(inf.)
remember-not bearing able-he(h.dat.)$^{\text{ē}}$∞

evocation

KT 287

ellai kaḻiya mullai malara
katir cin̲am taṇinta kai ar̲u mālaiyum
irav' aramp' āka nīntin̲am āyin̲
evan̲-kol vāḻi tōḻi
kaṅkul veḷḷam kaṭalin̲um peritē.

daylight pass-by(inf.) jasmine blossom(inf.)
beam anger decreased- action subside- evening$^{\text{um}}$
night border become(inf.) we-swum if
what$^{\text{kol}}$ live friend
night flood sea$^{\text{in̲um}}$ big-it$^{\text{ē}}$.

20 Metre: Āciriyappā and Veṇpā − Theoretical and Practical Rules

Sources: Tolkāppiyam Ceyyuḷiyal
Yāpparuṅkala Virutti
Yāpparuṅkala Kārikai

metrical units:
acai smallest unit which can have up to three syllables
cīr foot
aṭi line

acai

nirai	*niraipu*	(C)V(C)+V(C)	(C)V(C)+V(C)+Cu(hyper-short)
nēr	*nērpu*	(C)V(C)(C)	(C)V(C)(C)+Cu(hyper-short)

cīr
Aciriyappā: 2 *acai* in any combination of *nirai/nēr/niraipu/nērpu*
exceptional 3-*acai cīr* see below

Veṇpā: 2 or 3 *acai* in alternating combination of value (a *cīr* ending in *nirai* must be followed by one beginning in *nēr* and vice versa) + 1 *acai* at the end

aṭi
Āciriyappā: 4 *cīr* per line; penultimate only 3
exception Nūṟpā (= Āciriyappā in theoretical texts)
[between 3 *cīr* and very many lines]

Veṇpā: 4 *cīr* per line; only 3 in the last (and that last one short)
[between 2 and many lines]

aḷapeṭai: metrical lenghtening to 3 morae *āa*
kūṉ: "hunch"; hyper-metrical foot anywhere in the poem

Practical Rules for Āciriyappā:
There is a close interaction between metre and *sandhi*. The end-consonant of a *cīr* often merges with the beginning consonant of the next. A *cīr* can start with a vowel only in the poem beginning. In that case the preceding end consonant/end-consonant+over-short -*u* go to the next *cīr* and bear the vowel.

1) An *acai* should not be counted across word-boundaries (this being the most fundamental difference between early and later metrical theory).

2) A short-vowel(C) *nēr* can never begin a *cīr*.

3) Words should not be split across different *cīr*, apart from the end-consonant/end-consonant+over-short *-u.*
Except to this rule are word forms of 4 *acai* and more (very rarely nouns, frequently finite verbs and participial nouns).

4) Word forms of 3 *acai* are borderline cases and can be accepted in basically three situations:

a) verb form + particle: *varuvarkol* (KT 177.5) = *nirai-nēr-nēr*, *viṭunaṇmaṟ kollō* (NA 68.7) *nirai-nēr-nēr*,
b) noun + case ending : *perumaiyiṟ* (NA 50.11) = *niṟai-nēr-nēr, varuviruntiṟ* (NA 53.8) *nirai-nirai-nēr,*
c) inserted pronoun: *(y)iṟuttaṉṟavaṟ* (NA 68.10) *nirai-nēr-nirai, muṉkainiṉ* (NA 71.2) *nēr-nēr-nēr.*

[d) problem with the following *cīr*: *(ṉ)aṟaiyaṟaiyāt* (NA 46.7) = *nirai-nirai-nēr.*]

5) Similarly a number of hypo-metrical feet can be accepted, especially with *viṉaiyeccam*-s (*ceytu/ceypu* type = absolutive) that make up a *cīr*: *ceṉṟu, vantu*... (i.e. analyse not as *nērpu*, but as *nēr-nēr*.) This does not exclude, however, having *cīr* like *vīṟṟuvīṟṟuk* (PN 35.22) that count as *nērpu-nērpu*. Somewhat less frequent is the *nirai/niraipu* variation: *taṇintu* (KT 195.1) = *nirai-nēr* against *puṉantuḷarntu* (KT 214.1) = *nirai-niraipu*.
[For *niraipu/nērpu* nouns similar allowances can be made, but they are rare. Verbal roots in *niraipu/nērpu* are not acceptable. There occurrence before a *cīr* beginning in nasal has to be understood as *peyareccam* in *-um*.]

6) *Aḷapeṭai* and *sandhi* gemination can be metrically disregarded if necessary.